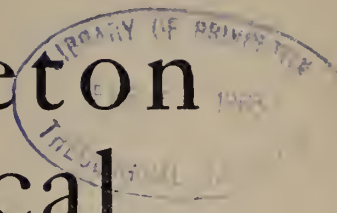


The Princeton Theological Review



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PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS
PRINCETON

LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1920

The Princeton Theological Review

EDITED FOR

THE FACULTY OF PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

BY

OSWALD T. ALLIS

Each author is solely responsible for the views expressed in his article
Notice of discontinuance must be sent to the Publishers; otherwise subscriptions will be continued

Subscription \$2.00 a year, 60 cents a copy, for the U. S. A. and Canada

Foreign postage 50 cents additional

Entered as Second Class Mail Matter at Princeton, N. J.

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The Princeton Theological Review

APRIL, 1920

SPIRITIST THEOLOGIANS

Theologians have rarely been very popular persons, while they lived, and of late years have been very unpopular. After they were dead,—using the word in its ordinary sense,—some of them have become more popular and gained a fame, wide and lasting, in inverse ratio to their former infamy. Now there is arising among us a new order of theologians at present very popular, who derive their popularity from the fact that they are either dead,—still using the word in the ordinary sense,—or consider themselves to be so related to the dead that they can speak for them, become their amanuenses, see to the publication of their posthumous books, and act in a general managerial capacity for them. Thus the dead in a very realistic sense are now speaking (so it is believed) not as having joined

the choir invisible
Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence

but as claiming to revisit the glimpses of the moon, visibly and audibly. Miss Agnes Repplier has with inimitable grace and wit complained to her large circle of admiring readers of “the determined intrusion” of “Dead Authors” who “force an entrance into our congested literary world competing with living scribblers.”¹ It must now be added that the spirits have taken to teaching and lecturing on theology using their agents among the living as partners or organs. They announce their presence by apparitions in haunted houses and elsewhere, by sitting, or standing, for their photographs, usually quite uninvited, by showing

¹ *Atlantic Monthly*, August, 1918.

their hands in dark chambers, making tables tip, and chairs dance or bodies levitate, and by various rappings or scrawlings or automatic handwritings conveying their messages and dissertations, sometimes uncomfortably long, to mankind. The art of writing as practiced by spirit writers seems to be confined to slate writings, and lead pencils, including the planchette, or ouija board. There has been apparently thus far no spirit fountain pen, and no typewriter with either "visible" or invisible writing. No doubt this deficiency will some day be corrected, in so modern a movement. For a modern movement it assuredly is. There have indeed been sporadic precursors of it from the Witch of Endor down to Simon Magus who "used sorcery and bewitched the people of Samaria giving out that himself was some great one" but never, perhaps, until now has there been so long a list of names, some of the great, some of the near great, making such claims to direct and reliable communications with the realm of the dead. It is claimed now that the Christian religion must be supplemented by a new revelation.

The Evidences of Christianity as taught by Paley or Butler, in his *Analogy*, or by later masters may be much improved on, they think, or may be rendered superfluous by a group of revelators who suddenly emerged from obscurity some seventy years ago and coming down now to such Eminences as Sir Oliver Lodge and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. The flood of books, magazines, and pamphlets advocating or encouraging the New Apologetic for Christianity is increasing by leaps and bounds; and as for their pupils, their name is legion. They sit at the feet of their spiritistic Gamaliels and hang on their lips.

Sir Oliver Lodge in the *Yale Review* for October tells us that "the Christian system is not complete without the psychical facts," and that "every gospel concludes with incidents of this nature,"—that is, with communications from the spirit world. Mr. Basil King writes of the "Abolishing of Death" (1919), and quotes the New Testament

to justify his positions. Sir Conan Doyle considers that this new Apocalypse is "by far the greatest religious event since the death of Christ, a revelation which alters the whole aspect of death . . . an enormous new development, the greatest in the history of mankind,"² and greater than the death of Christ in its consequences. Certainly this is a very large claim. "I am in touch at present," he continues, "with thirteen mothers who are in correspondence with their dead sons." And he tells, and evidently believes, that another mother whose husband had died, and who had lost a pet dog, received a message from her husband assuring her that the dog was now with him. "All things which love us and are necessary to our happiness in the world are with us here."³ If these two distinguished Apostles of the New Revelation are speaking the words of truth and soberness and not rank nonsense, it is evident that we are indeed on the verge of a period of theological reconstruction. The creator of Sherlock Holmes is a master-romancer; he now is become a necromancer, one of the would-be founders of a new school of theology, based on a new manner of other-worldliness. He seems already to have acquired one quality in which theologians are supposed to abound, the *odium theologicum*. "Religions are mostly petrified and decayed," he says, "overgrown with forms and choked with mysteries. We can prove that there is no need for this. All that is essential is both very simple and very sure." And he speaks bitter words of "the infallibility, monopoly, bigotry, and pedantry of theologians."⁴ St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas, John Calvin and Jonathan Edwards are likely to be such as he has in mind. Well, if all is so simple and so sure, the New Theologians will have a walk over. The day may come—who can say how soon—when the curricula of Harvard and Yale, and even Princeton, "where Edwards

² *The New Revelation*, Published by Hodder and Stoughton, p. 131.

³ P. 157.

⁴ P. 138.

stamped his iron heel upon the sand," may provide courses for theologues to specialize in automatic writing and spirit photography, and crowd Hebrew and Greek and Social Service out of the course to make room for such essentials as table tipping, ouija boards, and haunted houses. But before this is *un fait accompli* there are some things yet to be done.

One thing now much needed appears to be an examination of the general thought affinities of the New Revelation. The Christian religion has been before the world now for a couple of millenniums, and although its professors are far from agreed about details, even most important details, there is nevertheless a generic type of Christianity seen in all those who profess and call themselves Christians. For one thing, the vast mass of them are agreed that the dead really are dead; dead to this world, to time and sense. Death is not a delusion of the senses. Now we are very seriously notified by our modern necromancers that the common and general judgment of Christian men and women is all a mistake. Sir Oliver Lodge in the *New York Times* of February 1, 1920 speaks of "the fetish of death" and *Letters from a Living Dead Man* has appeared in print. The dead can return and, in various astounding ways, make their presence known and felt. Is it not timely then to ask what effects the New Revelation is likely to have on the general scheme of Christian doctrine, and what affinity it has with the non-Christian faiths? An adequate answer to such questions would require a course of lectures.

Baron Johan Liljencrants, once an officer in the Swedish army, then a postgraduate student in Princeton University, now a Roman Catholic priest, has published an able answer to these assertions, *Spiritism and Religion*, from the standpoint of his own Church in which he lists much more than one hundred volumes by seventy-five authors, including the voluminous official *Reports and Journals* of the "Societies of Psychical Research." These are only a part, probably a small part of the flood that pours from the press. One of the best

and latest of the answers to them is *The Case against Spiritualism* written by Miss Jane T. Stoddart, who outlines the Protestant and Evangelical position in an admirable spirit and with much literary skill, bringing together many valuable extracts from all sides of the controversy now raging in England. Sir Robertson Nicoll has written several editorials supporting the same positions.

It is a curious fact that a young girl scarcely in her teens, Margaret Fox, began the modern movement of Spiritualism (or "Spiritism" it is better to call it). In 1848 she with a younger sister deceived the whole countryside in Hydesville, Wayne Co., New York, beginning with the village where they lived. Gradually a fever of excitement spread to neighboring towns and cities, and all over the United States until it reached the proportions of a national and even international movement. The original authors of it claimed to "rap out" messages from spirits. In 1851 a committee of investigating physicians accused these youthful "psychics" of fraud, and they confessed that the "raps" were produced by some power they possessed of cracking their knee joints and perhaps toes together, and this they confirmed later in life.⁵ The greatest marvel about it is that their confession of fraud did not stop the movement. Was it not Barnum who said that people like to be fooled? In America eminent men were swept into the current: Horace Greeley and Wm. Lloyd Garrison for example. Congress was even petitioned to investigate, and converts numbered tens and probably hundreds of thousands. The excitement crossed the ocean, taking root in even Presbyterian Scotland, and began to spread over Europe, where something similar had appeared in France, though seemingly not with such power. Then the movement died down, and the present stir over spirits revives it. Indeed, even today Sir Conan Doyle in his *The New Revelation*, refers to the Fox sisters in terms

⁵ Liljencrants, *Spiritism and Religion*, pp. 18-20, 131; Hyslop, *Borderland of Psychical Research*, pp. 203-4.

of respect if not of eulogy. He numbers them among the "borderland forces" as "worthy of our respectful though critical attention," recognizing that though such manifestations "may seem humble and foolish"⁶ "from them sprang the whole modern movement . . . which is destined to give religion the firmest basis upon which it has ever stood." Jesus said, "On this rock I will build my Church." Sir Conan Doyle thinks he has found a better foundation, it would seem. Next to and along with the Fox sisters, Sir Arthur places Miss Julia Ames, singling out "her beautiful posthumous book *After Death*" for unqualified praise, repeated more than once. It must be understood that this book is not merely "posthumous" in that it was published after her death, but was written, after she had been dead for many years, through her friend Mr. W. T. Stead whose hand ("automatic hand") moved at her volition from the spirit world, before his own death on the Titanic. It bears the inscription "W. T. Stead Amanuensis." In reading her book then we are supposed to be reading first "Julia," secondly Mr. Stead; and certainly we are reading Sir Conan Doyle. Although written a decade ago it is far from being antiquated, but is evidently quite accurately exponential of the spirit of this extraordinary movement. Mr. Stead dates his preface to the original volume thus:

"Julia's Bureau, Mowbray House, Norfolk Street, London W. C., Easter 1909." We speak of her as "Julia" because he does so, and it is necessary to give an accurate impression of its quality. It is these *Letters from Julia* that have been recently republished with 15 additional ones, by Mr. Stead's daughter Miss Estelle W. Stead, under the title, *After Death*.⁷

This volume then may be accounted one of the "sources" for learning what the New Revelation is. Julia was a baptized and no doubt a sincere Christian who died in 1891.

⁶ *The New Revelation*, p. 162.

⁷ George H. Doran Co., New York, 1918.

"Julia's Bureau" is not as might be at first suspected, knowing the apparent preferences of discarnate spirits for tables, an article of furniture but an institution established by her after her death, by the agency of Mr. Stead, before his own death, to enable spirits to communicate regularly with their friends on earth. We shall give enough in quotation to give an impression, but the book must be read to be appreciated.

"The Bureau of Intercommunication between the Two Worlds,⁸ is the most important thing in the whole range of the achievements of mortal man," she says with pardonable satisfaction. "It will destroy," she continues, "the whole theory of the future life that is 'conventionally held by the churches.'" Thus we are plunged at once into the abyss of Eschatology. In old-fashioned treatises of theology this doctrine of the "Last Things," heaven, hell, the judgment, etc., that is, was usually put last. But it will be seen that, from the standpoint of the New Revelation, Eschatology is fundamental and comes first. Perhaps it might be fair to say that hell comes first and heaven second. Let us hear Julia herself.

"Hell is no fiction."⁹ "Sometimes the parting spirit finds itself in outer darkness in which it sees and feels nothing but a dread lostness, a desolation which oppresses and which is described as hell." This seems pretty definite, but a little later she says that she only speaks of heaven and hell because these terms have been consecrated by usage and not because they are true to fact. The key to this apparent contradiction follows. "Heaven shades off into hell, hell shades off into heaven by a million imperceptible gradations. Between the two there is no great gulf fixed, as is suggested" (and suggested, notice, by Christ himself) "in the parable of Lazarus. For the Borderland which divides the two is crossed by innumerable paths, along which the dwellers in Heaven are perpetually leading those who were spirits in prison. . . . The joy of Heaven is empty-

⁸ P. 103.

⁹ P. 165.

ing Hell." This Doyle specially commends.¹⁰ Again she extols the Bureau "because of the evidence it will continuously afford to the reality of this world." "You have to bring Eternity to the assistance of Time and to restore to the human race, on a scientific basis the realizing sense of the continuity of existence on both sides of the grave." "It will revivify and re-energize the whole religious and ethical systems of the world." Mr. Stead himself in his Preface¹¹ holds it to be an imperious and absolute duty for mortals to keep up such communications with dead friends in spite of the fact which he admits that Moses three thousand years ago sought "to deter the Children of Israel from resorting to familiar spirits; and the black magic of 'primitive times.'" At the same time he raises his voice "as earnestly as any writer in the Pentateuch" "against any tampering with the unseen and potent spirits of evil which lie in wait for the soul." But how must he have felt after this to be told by Julia,¹² "I want to say one word about the communications about which you hear so much. . . . The devil and his angels are no metaphysical abstractions. There are false ones, frivolous ones on this side as there are on yours." Sir Conan Doyle says "there is cold blooded lying on the part of wicked intelligences."¹³ "There is a possibility of making acquaintances," continues Julia, "who may be difficult to shake off." Can it be, then, that the evangelizing parties who are going forth so confidently along the innumerable paths where heaven shades into hell, and hell into heaven will wish to "shake off" their undesirable acquaintances, the "spirits in prison"? We hear in another place that hell is not "a place of punishment" but "a remedial agency." If so why should it be the joy of heaven to empty it? But evidently according to Julia, there are some spirits so desperately bad as to make it safer to give them a wide berth and leave them to the regular remedial agencies. But

¹⁰ *The New Revelation*, p. 9.

¹¹ P. xxxii.

¹² P. 62.

¹³ P. 122.

it must have been even more disheartening to Julia's hand, her "automatic hand," to have to write down these words: "To open up communication between them and your world is for them not 'good but evil.' And 'for you also it is evil. Hence it is mercifully restricted.'" "There are possibilities of the disembodied evil ones returning to glut their passions and satisfy their appetites by repossessing themselves of a mortal body, temporarily or permanently forsaken by its owner." This happens rarely and only when some one in this world loves disembodied sinners enough to be willing to allow these discarnate reprobates the use of his or her body for "vicarious evil doing." As few people love sinners as much as that (so Julia thinks) the occurrence is rare. "You will find," she reassures her automatic hand, that "the phenomenon of drunkards returning to slake their thirst . . . is confined to the cases of the newly dead." Peter says that Paul wrote some things in the Bible hard to be understood and Peter himself is not far behind in what he said about the spirits in prison, but is there anything in the Bible harder to understand than this?

But even this is not the limit of Julia's theological wonderland. "Alice" is quite eclipsed. In the "14th Julia Narrative," she takes up the parable to expound what may be called the "Doctrine of the Spoke and the Wheel." It is Julia's own original view of reincarnation. "I do not remember," she remarks, "that I have ever been incarnate before my last birth. And there are many here who tell me the same. I do not know whether I shall be incarnate again on the earth plane. I may be, I may not be, . . . but we may be partially reincarnate. . . . If you could imagine a wheel with many spokes and each spoke capable of being detached, and heated to a white heat, and hammered on an anvil until it was fit to take its place in the perfect wheel, you can form some idea of reincarnation. There is not any total plunge into matter again or ever.

The Ego always has its vital principle on this side. The hub of the wheel is here, but the spoke is incarnate. . . . I do not think that any spoke of me, Julia, is now incarnate on earth. I have no spoke undergoing refurbishing. A spoke may be incarnate again and again. Sometimes it is never again passed through the gateway of birth. But in the end all will come right. Oh yes, it is possible for the Ego to be in heaven,—the hub Ego so to speak—and the spoke to be in Hell. . . . Each spoke has its own personality” but “all these personalities must be co-ordinated into one great personality of which they are all part.” And then she adds with quite the air of one who must tell a piece of news not very pleasant, “As for you, your spoke, now incarnate, has been incarnate before many times. And there are other spokes.”

Julia died in Boston. Mr. Basil King^{13a} takes up the wondrous tale of re-incarnation. “The personality is to the subconscious personality what Boston is to the universe;” here is true appreciation of the centrality of Boston—“eternity develops both—a star in the heavens.” Assuming the truth of it, may not he, Mr. King, be one of Julia’s spokes—in process of being “refurbished”—at Harvard? Mr. King criticises both Sir Oliver Lodge and Sir Conan Doyle for going to seances, rappings, levitations. He leans to lead pencils instead, but prefers “rhythms” which are “the rhythmic motions with which the universe is alive.” How fine an art is clear definition! What could be more clear than this one? But perhaps we had better stick to lead pencils for the present.

Dr. Jacks of *The Hibbert Journal* in his recent “Adventures in Psychic Research,” so simply and charmingly related in the *Atlantic Monthly*, August 1919, must win sympathetic attention, especially when he so naïvely confesses, “I don’t know what to make of it.” Little wonder he does not; for a “spirit” who had previously passed as the

^{13a} *The Abolishing of Death*, cf. pp. 42, 47, 56, 63, 64, 165-168, 174.

spirit of a deceased friend, "Old Scott," suddenly dropped his *alias* and announced that he was Sir Walter Scott! How could Mr. Stead believe that he was really conversing with his lost friend Julia? Did he believe it? Certainly he had the "will to believe," but it is evident that many times he had doubts about it himself. For this he is well rebuked by Julia who lectures him roundly over and over again. His doubts would probably have increased,—certainly ours must—on hearing Sir Conan Doyle remark concerning automatic¹⁴ writing that "it is in its very nature liable to self-deception. Are we using our own hand, or is an outside power directing it? It is only by the information received that we can tell, and even then we have to make a broad allowance for our own subconscious knowledge." This is confirmed by Professor Hyslop's thorough discussion of such matters in his books on the Borderland and on Resurrection,^{14a} in which he shows the lengths to which even an honest man may go in simulating the details of a circumstantial story, as when the planchette drew pictures of people and things in Mars including a Martian chicken. Mr. Stead's useful life, his high Christian character and his relations with his daughter would forbid any one to attribute anything fraudulent to him, and his tragic death on the Titanic drew out the heart of humanity to him and his. But "the information received" through the Bureau suggests irresistibly, an elaborate self-deception, almost passing credence. It is no wonder the Bureau suspended operations. Julia found that not one spirit in a million cared to use it after their own loved ones had come

¹⁴ *New Revelation*, p. 155.

^{14a} In his *Borderland of Psychical Research*, Professor Hyslop gives cogent reasons "why it is necessary to be cautious about admitting supernatural phenomena" (cf. Preface). He deserves credit for his candor. Chapters viii and ix are worthy of special attention (cf. pp. 214-219 and 284-298). See also his *Psychical Research and the Resurrection*, pp. 212-218. The first chapter of this latter book which is entitled, "The Humorous Aspects of Psychical Research," is as sad as it is humorous.

over! They would not have made good foreign missionaries.¹⁵

"Julia" is exceeded by the famous lady medium who in her day was "possessed" successively by Victor Hugo, that arch rascal Cagliostro, and Marie Antoinette,—poor Marie Antoinette! Another spirit whom Professor Hyslop chronicles without endorsement, has the information that babies go to Jupiter. Margaret Cameron in *The Seven Purposes* has had communication with her set of spirit friends, one of whom has a dog with her which,—or, should we say? who—is "expected before long" to "blossom into an adorable baby." She and Basil King, two more theologians of the New Revelation, are apparently introducing a Department of Animal Theology—a branch of Anthropology probably. Mr. King¹⁶ had it from his intimate in the spirit world, Henry Talbot, a most curious person, that animals are human and intelligent, especially the ant and bee. "It is *never* possible to destroy life." "No evil endures because it has not life." Here we see a difference between Mr. Stead, "Julia" and other theologians of the Old School, and another incipient "New School." It would seem as if even under the newest dispensation of the New Revelation, theologians will split hairs and indulge in polemics. There will soon be a Spirit Orthodoxy no doubt, and a Liberal party, perhaps on the issue of the true humanity of animals. The whole matter is becoming confused. We need a *Who's Who* in the spirit world.^{16a}

It is difficult to be serious in dealing with the outlandish absurdities of the whole business. Psychical research has its legitimate and useful place, but it is not its place, *me judice*, to seek out familiar spirits and wizards any more

¹⁵ *After Death*, p. 96.

¹⁶ *The Abolishing of Death*, p. 54.

^{16a} A recent article appearing in the *Tablet* by Father Thurston, S.J., refers to "revelations" vouched for by Mr Ballou, a Universalist minister in 1852, according to which spirits have no houses. "Our dwelling is immensity." This conflicted with other revelators of an earlier day than ours. The Spirits contradict each other flatly and frequently.

than it was when Moses forbade it under pain of death. God in his mercy has relaxed that penalty, but the inevitable nemesis of spiritual decay and death is just as real and a thousand times worse. The "Julian Theology" so to speak, whoever its author, and its "Spoke and Wheel" doctrine is a crude and bungling attempt to plaster Hindu pantheism over the facade of the Christian temple. "All souls are eternal, being parts of the divine essence."¹⁷ It is astonishing and alarming that such books should be translated into a dozen languages and scattered to the ends of the earth, among other places, to India and Siam. They have the same kind of thing there, and much better done. It fell to the writer once to sit down under a banyan tree before a Buddhist temple in Siam, and talk through a missionary interpreter with the priest about his life; how he dreaded to become an elephant in his next incarnation, or a bad man, how he would like family life, but must "make merit"—the common phrase. This is not the elegant poetical pantheism of Sir Edwin Arnold and Omar Khayyam. A doctrine must be worked down into the life of a whole people before its real character appears. Then it appears how hopelessly incompatible the Christian religion is with any form of pantheism.

Mr. Stead in his preface tells how Protestants, Catholics, and Greeks all unite in the belief that Julia expresses their faith. Then he goes on to say that the notorious Mrs. Besant, a Sikh professor, and a Hindoo editor also think she is an exponent of their notions. An amalgamation of Christianity with other religions, has often been tried and always fails.

We are told that we ought to be glad that Agnostics and Materialists who once could not believe in the soul or its immortality have been led by ouija boards or automatic hands to a belief in the supernatural. Certainly we should rejoice to see any one led to a genuine faith in God in any way; but are men led to believe in good money by the free circulation of counterfeits? "Ye shall know the truth

¹⁷ *After Death*, p. 156.

and the truth shall make you free" will command the assent of pretty much all who bear the Christian name, as will also St. John's axiom, "No lie is of the truth." If broken-hearted mothers and wives bereft of their dearest find themselves the victims of cheating mediums and self-deceived inventors of sham messages from them, are they apt to retain their faith in the supernatural?

Sir Oliver Lodge stands out conspicuously in America at the moment as the chiefest missionary apostle of the New Revelation. His scientific attainments, his literary accomplishments, both in English and in classical studies, make him a commanding figure and lend weight to whatever he may say on any subject. His *Raymond* whatever else may be thought of it is a picture at once beautiful and pathetic of the best home life of England. With engaging frankness he unbosoms himself and almost disarms his critics, as we are permitted to look upon the precious secrets of a father's and a mother's grief and love. The paragraph, "A Mother's Lament"^{17a} and the next one which speaks of Raymond's love and use of the Bible should make us gentle and sympathetic. It is no wonder that other fathers, mothers, widows, lovers, should catch at straws when they are drowning in an ocean of fathomless sorrow. But we should be faithless friends, if we spared to say that they are clutching at straws; not even ropes of straw, but worthless chaff and vanity. They cannot give real help to mourners, but in the end must make their tears the bitterer. The reason is not that Sir Oliver is insincere or in general incompetent but because he appears to be one of those peculiarly constituted great minds, which are unsuspecting, singularly open to being befooled by sharpers and confidence men, and especially confidence women. His connection with and activities in the Society of Psychical Research display him as haunted by the very ghost of gullibility. If a man has his pocket picked once, he may perhaps excuse himself for not being careful. If it happens a second time it

^{17a} *Raymond*, p. 10.

is difficult not to feel some sense of shame, especially if others are injured by his folly. Sir Oliver can hardly excuse himself for the record of his dealings with the once famous and now notorious Eusapia Palladino and with Mrs. Piper probably also. He has recently¹⁸ addressed a fervent appeal, to "the whole body of Christian Ministry, of every denomination." In his most masterly and persuasive rhetoric he urges that the new necromancy be now recognized and legitimized as one of the means of grace, even characterizing those who refuse, "as unconsciously, and with the best intentions, blaspheming." Without at present arguing the question in full it is enough to say here, that the witnesses upon whose evidence Lodge relies—the mediums, from Margaret Fox on—are as a class, with possible exceptions, known to be just such cheats as Browning depicts in "Mr. Sludge the Medium." An English writer lists twenty six who have been caught cheating, and other suspects.^{18a} Eusapia Palladino is true to type, not an exception. Yet it was she whom for years¹⁹ Lodge persisted in trusting, "against hope believing in hope," the hope, that is, that he had lighted upon a great scientific discovery, *viz.* that the dead can be reached by natural means which can touch the world of the discarnate and "bridge the chasm" between the dead and the living. Long before *Raymond* he had conceived the idea, first as a working hypothesis no doubt, and in connection with the Society of Psychical Research. Gradually it became a fixed conviction in his mind. *Raymond* is full of evidence that he actually hoped that his own son would prove his father's thesis. There is something touching in the frequency with which Sir Oliver reverts to this fond hope. The world will be convinced by Raymond's revelations! So he dreams. Dr. McCosh once wrote a little book, *Criteria of Diverse*

¹⁸ *Nineteenth Century*, January 1919.

^{18a} A scathing *exposé* of the lengths to which mediums go in cheating their dupes may be seen in *Behind the Scenes with the Mediums* (Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago).

¹⁹ *Religion and Spiritism*, pp. 151-154, 155ff. See Index.

Kinds of Truth, a Treatise of Applied Logic as opposed to Agnosticism. We venture to think it might be useful to Sir Oliver Lodge. He is evidently applying the wrong tests and measuring the things of God by a finite yard stick. "We cannot kill a spectre by thrusting a spear into it," Dr. McCosh wrote in his preface. Sir Oliver aims to achieve a still more impossible feat. He would draw out not leviathan with a hook, but a spectre out of the vasty deep by means of a mundane and human piece of machinery, a tipping table, a parlor toy; or an automatic hand. Some spirit follower now has a photographic camera-lens which has reproduced Mr. Gladstone and Mrs. Gladstone in the spirit world, and he hears a direct voice from him. If he hears correctly, heaven has added nothing to the gifts of speech of the great Commoner.

Dr. McCosh is wiser. He "posits the Supernatural as the origin of the natural"²⁰ and accepts Biblical miracles as part of "a whole supernatural system," just as well or better accredited when tested by their proper criteria as are ordinary natural events. Sir Oliver subpoenas all official Christendom to plead guilty to his charge of constructive blasphemy if they do not accept his reconstruction of the theology of the universal Church in all ages and consent to add a new article to the creed, reading in this fashion. "I believe that by the testimony of Sir Oliver Lodge, Dr. Hyslop, Sir Conan Doyle, and their psychical company, it is now sufficiently established that we may hold intercourse with the dead, by mediums and other 'sensitives,' and that this fact is established by evidence as reliable as the witness of the Canonical Scriptures, and the whole body of prophets and apostles who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." The whole of *Raymond*, including Part Three, is devoted to the elaboration of this single thesis—that we may and ought to communicate with the dead, under proper conditions, and that to do so requires no miraculous powers, using the word miracu-

²⁰ *Criteria*, pp. 55-56.

lous in the usual sense, *viz.* direct acts of God superseding or transcending natural laws for the purpose of accrediting divine revelations. Part Three is really a piece of speculative theology amateurish in form but based on and interpreting Lodge's physical and psychical philosophy of the universe. Its keynote is the naturalness of what has been hitherto called the supernatural. The pathetic anxiety of a father to talk to his son in the spirit world appears in the long history of the two preceding parts of the book, but is quite overshadowed by the no less pathetic spectacle of a scientist eager to substitute his guesses at truth for the well-founded evidences of the Christian verities.

Sir Oliver himself is by far the most interesting part of his books. He appears really to believe that he needs no genuine miracles to accredit his affirmations. If we understand him, he does not claim that he has any miracles except in the secondary sense of anything wonderful. The time is come to reach the dead by an apparatus as mechanical and earthborn as a telephone or a wireless telegraph are for reaching the distant living. The New Revelation reduces everything to the common denominator of an unqualified dependence upon the human mind and the human body. Its nearest approach to an old fashioned miracle, is a medium. It is hard sometimes to keep our faith in The Miracles in the widespread skepticism that has poisoned philosophy since Hume. Let us be thankful that we need not believe in mediums, in spite of Sir Oliver and his charge of blasphemy. At the same time let us give him every honor for this, that he broke with the agnostic materialism by which he was surrounded and sought to find a path leading toward a knowable rather than an un-knowable God. Better fifty years of Sir Oliver Lodge than a cycle of Herbert Spencer! But in his pathetic eagerness to find the path, he has blundered into a thicket of psychical superstitions, from which he cannot free himself or the agnostics save by sound Biblical conceptions of nature and the super-

natural. We wish to be perfectly fair to him and therefore must add that he does not deny the possibility of the occurrence of miracles,²¹ but is willing to accept them on satisfactory historical evidence, only insisting that "the region of the miraculous" should not be imagined to be "denuded of a law and order of its own." Order is no doubt heaven's first law still. But God Himself is surely able to transcend all physical and psychical laws by the direct action of his own sovereign will, when the good of his creatures and the government of the Universe moves him to do it; and Sir Oliver seems strangely blind to the fact that the Almighty not only can conceivably begin, but actually has begun and carried forward a magnificent series of events culminating in the sending of his Son, very God of very God, once uncarnate, now forever incarnate for us men and our salvation, and that these events are not like his chats with "Raymond" by the agency of contemptible mediums and jumping tables, but by the overwhelming demonstration of the Holy Ghost sent down from Heaven. There are two ways to get rid of miracles; one is by denying altogether that they can happen, the other by watering down the nature of a miracle until it can conceivably be wrought by man's wit or wisdom. There is no long distance telephone either wired or wireless or by the body or hand of any mortal man or woman. Sir Oliver in the *New York Times* of February 1, assures the world that the Society of Psychical Research has now the evidence, and will publish it in due time. We may await the event with composure. It is told of Voltaire that a man claimed that he had invented a new religion but could not see how to persuade men of its truth. "That is perfectly simple," said Voltaire, "just get yourself crucified and rise again from the dead on the third day,—then everybody will believe on you." Sir Oliver says that on the Mount of Transfiguration Jesus "allowed his medium-

²¹ *Raymond*, p. 390.

istic faculties full play.”²² Thus he reduces the supernatural to the natural. Jesus was a medium. Must we say that he “is unconsciously and with the best intention blaspheming?”

We may here perhaps with advantage turn back to the work of another great,—it may be thought by some a greater—scientist. Michael Faraday (1794-1867) will long be remembered for his wonderful gifts as an investigator in physics and chemistry, in the former in Induction Currents, Electro-Magnetism, and Dia-magnetism, and in the latter in the Liquefaction of Gases. One of the pieces of apparatus most highly prized in the Museum of the Royal Institution of London is a simple coil of wire from which Faraday, professor in the Institution, drew the first induced spark of electricity.²³ He was the author also of a notable address on “Mental Education” in 1854 wherein before a distinguished audience in the Royal Institution he dwells upon the great deficiency in the exercise of “proportionate judgment” taking his illustrations from physical science. By “proportionate judgment” he intends judgment exactly proportioned to the evidence, and insists that our researches frequently ought to end in “absolute reservations,” and makes some pungent criticism on clairvoyance, mesmerism and table tipping. He then sets himself to investigate the latter, which was interesting many people then as it does now. He devised a very simple piece of apparatus which he used with such effect that a circle of “table tipplers” (or “turners” as then called) to “their great astonishment were compelled to admit that their hands had by involuntary muscular action moved the table instead of the table moving them.”²⁴ He pub-

²² *Nineteenth Century*, January 1919, p. 108.

²³ The writer is indebted for these facts to Professor Eugene C. Bingham, head of the Chemical Department of Lafayette College, who adds “This coil may properly be regarded as the legitimate ancestor of every dynamo, every telephone and telegraph instrument now in existence.”

²⁴ Faraday's *Researches in Chemistry and Physics*, London 1859, p. 382.

lished his results in the *London Times*, and *The Athenaeum*, remarking with characteristic simplicity on the various causes, electricity, magnetism, etc., to which the phenomena had been attributed—"and even to diabolic or supernatural agency, but these last are too much connected with credulity and superstition to require any attention on my part." What would he have thought of the Society of Psychical Research!—a perfectly legitimate scientific mode of investigating the obscurer phenomena of the mind, telepathy, hypnotism and the like, but which appears now to the outsider, and evidently to some insiders, also to resemble a fine horse which has taken a bit in its teeth and run wild, rampaging in the uncharted fields of "credulity and superstition" and sadly needing a Faraday to recall it to stick to the roadway of Proportionate Judgment. Speculative Physics is no doubt an attractive field of research, and not without its due place of renown, and it is not for those of us who are not physicists to express judgments even when Sir Oliver seems to us to be ballooning among atoms and electrons and especially in ethers; but when he crosses the line of the supernatural we may remember Faraday's quiet and gentle reproof: "I must bring this long description to a close [the discomfiture of the table-tippers]. I am a little ashamed of it for I think that in this present age and in this part of the world, it ought not to have been necessary." If this was his judgment then, what would he have said of *Raymond*?

It is impossible to characterize such a bundle of sense and nonsense in terms that are at once respectful to its distinguished author and to the sovereign dignity of Truth itself. He resents the fact that the things he tells of his son and his present companions are held up to ridicule, but what can he expect? "It is to laugh"—to weep also at what are seriously put forth, as the credentials of a New Revelation. Raymond reaches his father or some member of his family through a medium. That is bad enough, but at least

mediums can be checked and watched if necessary by the police. But he is dependent also on a system of "controls" in the other world. Who controls the controls? Who are they? His son is in the hands of "Moonstone" who gives himself out as once, 100 years ago, a "Yogi"; at another time "Red-feather," apparently an American Indian; then an old Irish "Biddy," with a brogue, who says, "Sure its meeself that has come to speak." But the usual control is a young girl "Feda," an East Indian apparently, who is an essential part of the apparatus by which he "gets through" messages from the "discarnate" child of his affection.

Asleep in Jesus, blessed sleep
From which none ever wake to weep.

That is the New Testament account of it for all the saints who from their labors rest. Sir Oliver's nightmare dream is of a heaven (if heaven it may by courtesy be called) vulgarized by projecting into the future this earth with the tares and the wheat growing together as of yore, its customs, its modes of living, its whole atmosphere. Feda speaks for Raymond, or he speaks for himself. He tells how his body is very much like the one he had before, pinches himself sometimes to see if it is real.²⁵ The father asks if he has eyes and ears. Yes, and eyebrows and eyelashes,—exactly the same, and a tongue and teeth and a new tooth in place of one he had lost.²⁶ On occasion they can get a spirit doctor to help handle those hurt in certain ways on the earth and "detach the spirit" from the earthly body. They live in brick houses, Raymond says, but at first is rather puzzled to say where the bricks come from. He and his companions are busy with useful tasks, but find time to sing, not only hymns, laughing sometimes as they sing, and join in jolly and seen.ingly uproarious choruses. Then he thinks the bricks are from "some sort of emanations rising from the earth,—they appear to be bricks,—and I have seen granite too."²⁷

²⁵ *Raymond*, p. 194.

²⁶ P. 195.

²⁷ P. 198.

"There is something always rising from the earth—something chemical in form. As it rises to ours, it goes through various changes and solidifies on our plane."²⁸ He feels sure that it is something given off from the earth that "makes the solid trees and flowers." (This is Feda speaking for Raymond). He expresses his views on war topics, Greece, Serbia, Roumania, etc. At another time, Feda says in his name, "He is joking. Just as many jokes as ever before, even when singing hymns. When he and Paul are singing they do a funny dance with their arms" ("showing a sort of cake walk" A. M. L.²⁹ says by way of explanation). Then Feda resumes. "It is a silly dance anyway." Then "He and Paulie had a scuffle. Paul was singing first and Yaymond [spelt thus] thought he would like to sing too so he just chipped in at the end." He just took his organs there and materialized his own voice in her [the medium's] throat and sang. "I thought I'd nearly killed the medium". "Raised the roof, he says, and he *did* enjoy it."³⁰ Now O. J. L.³¹ interposes to comment, "Here Feda gave an amused chuckle with a jump and a squeak," and then, adds: "This relates to what I am told was a real occurrence at a private gathering; but it is not evidential." It appears to the present writer quite evidential of the state of mind of Sir Oliver Lodge. The climax or nadir of folly and credulity seems reached when Raymond tells of clothes manufactured from smells and gases arising from decayed matter on the earth.³² "My suit I expect was made from decayed worsted on your side." Faraday who investigated the Li-quefaction of Gases "on the earth side" is quite eclipsed. He made gases into liquids—but not ready-made clothing.

On this earth this intelligence reaches Sir Oliver through agents quite of a piece. The table performs all kinds of antics.

²⁸ P. 184.

²⁹ A. M. L. = Lady Lodge.

³⁰ P. 201.

³¹ O. J. L. = Sir Oliver Lodge.

³² P. 199.

³³ All this is fully justified in Chapter XIV, p. 363 by O. J. L.

We read of it "rocking to and fro with a pleased motion most difficult to express on paper"; keeping time with a song and Raymond (in and through the table) "very distinctly and decidedly applauded." It edged its way, feeling its way with its feet and once "shaking with laughter" and trying to climb into Lady Lodge's lap. One feels like apologizing to the readers of this REVIEW, but it is necessary to give these characteristics which are multiplied indefinitely and exhibit the depths of folly which we are gravely asked to put on a par with the credentials of the New Testament,—or above them.

The *New York Times* has evidently aimed to report Lodge correctly and fully, and its accounts bear the marks of truth. In a preliminary interview he said, "He doubted heaven as a place where people go when they die." Of hell he was still more skeptical. "There could be no place of permanent badness out of which the departed could not lift themselves." In the *Homiletic Review* for December 1917, he declares that the penitent thief did not go to heaven, but to paradise, "a sort of Garden of Eden apparently somewhere not too far removed from earth." That phrase "not too far removed from earth" is it not very suggestive of those "who mind earthly things"? The last things the people of the neo-Eden seem to be thinking of are heavenly things. They do not cry continually, Holy, Holy, Holy. The Holy Spirit who convinces the world of sin and of righteousness and of judgment to come has not moved Lodge to say anything seriously about the guilt of sin. He warns people not to commit suicide. Well he may, for this rose-colored view of the future is well calculated to promote it, but Sir Oliver says "Over there they seem to feel they have set a bad example and they are sorry, if they are good fellows, and I guess they mostly are." Shakespeare knew what was in man better than he when he taught that it was "the dread of something after death" that makes us rather bear the ills we have than fly to others we know not of. The probationary character of this life and the solemn ending of that probation at

death is gone from the New Revelation, and of course with it the second death and "the blazing lake" (as Dr. Moffatt now translates it) in which murderers, liars, idolators, and also sorcerers have their part. Every one is to have "another chance," yes, apparently the future is made up of "chances." Raymond's pictures are of a comfortable manner of life, easy, though far from irreligious. He tells ³⁴ of "boys who had died having nasty ideas and vices." They are sent to "a sort of reformatory," "a place where you are given a chance." This tolerant air pervades all his pictures of life in this land that is neither heaven nor hell, nor even purgatory. If a man wants a cigar or a whiskey soda or a dog for a companion he can get it. We are not stirred by it to flee from the City of Destruction and strive to enter the strait gate, but rather to put our names down for a room in a good summer Hotel, or a Country Club perhaps, highly respectable, pleasantly religious even (but not "Puritanical,") and so to join, not the goodly fellowship of the prophets exactly, but of some good fellows who know how to get the best out of a very earthly paradise. Myers, his father's friend, tells Raymond, "if you've led a decent life and left alone things you don't understand—that's all that's required of you,"—an excellent picture of a well bred man of the world. It is not meant by this that we are passing judgment on Raymond's real place in the world to come. God forbid! Nor yet are we judging his father. He speaks with what seems to be a genuine reverence for Christ, and of His approval as worth living for; but the picture which he has given us of the New Revelation is certainly at war with the solemn warnings of Him who said, "Fear him who can destroy both soul and body in hell."

The key to Sir Oliver's theology is probably Stainton Moses who was an Anglican clergyman of high repute, brilliant gifts and exemplary character who for twenty years had intercourse with spirits to the number of thirty-eight, including Beethoven and Swedenborg. Andrew Lang says: "They

³⁴ P. 230.

were all humbugs." Sir Oliver quotes Stainton Moses at considerable length.³⁵ One phrase betrays his standpoint, "The errors and contradictions which throng the pages of the Bible." He wrote with an "automatic hand subliminally" and this was what the spirits wrote through him. Naturally he rails against "the old and repulsive view in the Old Testament," but says he believes, or the spirits do, in the revelation of Jesus Christ. But, in spite of what Jesus said, he says "there is no devil nor Prince of evil such as theology has feigned." That is to say the Broad Church theology of the Church of England is largely responsible for the present outbreak of a repulsive animism all over England. A baptized paganism it used to be said; a baptized spiritism it will be if Sir Oliver's "*Ad clerum*" is heeded. He says Christ was "a planetary manifestation of Deity"; "that fraction of transcendental Deity which suffices for the earth." And we, what are we? "We are the white corpuscles of the cosmos, *we serve and form part of an immanent Deity.*" This brings his theology into union with the theology of the letters of Julia rather than the letters of Paul and of course he can find only too much serviceable material in the pantheism which in many forms and phases has poisoned many pulpits, colleges, and theological seminaries.

The nearest approach that Lodge makes to anything resembling a Christology is in Chapter XVI.³⁶ It is this: "And further it is my faith,—however humbly it may be held—that among these lofty beings, highest of those who concern themselves directly with the earth of all the myriads of worlds in infinite space, is one on whom the right instinct of Christianity has always lavished heartfelt reverence and devotion." And he bears his testimony to "the grace and truth which emanate from that divine Being." It is good to hear so touching a confession of faith, though it is plain enough that it lingers in the shadows of Arianism rather than cries out with Thomas, My Lord and my God. He

³⁵ Chapter XII, Part Three.

³⁶ P. 376.

may yet come, however, to a perception of the true and proper Deity of Him who is not "one of the Highest," but The Highest, God over All, blessed forever more. He has little or nothing to say about the Atonement, and what he says is not satisfying, much less about the Holy Spirit and his sublime Offices, though it would be natural that one who is so much taken up with spirits should think sometimes of the Highest Spirit. Raymond tells of a visit to the immediate presence of Christ and his father records his impressions; but strangely (it would seem to us) withholds some of great importance, because it was desirable to keep them back until "survival" was fully established.³⁷ Does this not sound as if he considered the evidence for survival not yet complete; and also what he thinks he heard from his son not calculated to strengthen it? A theorist on such a subject is apt to have moments of doubt. We must confess to a feeling that in giving what he considers the facts, he is not justified in withholding any part of Raymond's testimony about his visit to Christ. We can judge only when we know all. It sounds like a *suppressio veri*—of course unconscious and unintentional.

Sir Conan Doyle deserves much less attention than his fellow apostle. Where Lodge speaks reverently and thoughtfully, Doyle is rash, crude, and borders on gross contempt for the faith which, as he knows, is the dearest thing on earth to millions of humble believers in Christ. "In my opinion far too much stress has been laid upon Christ's death and too little upon his life."³⁸ Then he commends him for "his easy tolerance" and other virtues, (as he conceives virtue) "though he [that is Christ] did occasionally lose his temper with his more bigoted and narrow supporters." An ill tempered Jesus! Is this our Saviour? Having read a number of messages from the incarnate, he is now able to say that, though "Opinion is not absolutely uniform yonder any more than it is here,"

³⁷ P. 231.

³⁸ *New Revelation*, p. 78.

"the Christ-Spirit is the greatest Spirit of whom they have cognizance, but is "not God since God is so infinite that he is not within their ken—but one who is nearer God and to that extent represents God,"—a bit of conscious or unconscious Ritschlianism. "His special care is the earth" and he descended to it to give the people the lesson of an ideal life."³⁹ That is the story of Christ as spirits have described it. "There is nothing here of Atonement or Redemption. But there is a perfectly feasible and reasonable scheme, which I for one could readily believe."⁴⁰ If we will only accept this New Revelation, "which is coming to us from the other side, we should have a creed which might unite the Churches, which might be reconciled to science, which might defy all attacks and which might carry the Christian Faith on for an indefinite period," provided always "the Eternal Hell idea" be allowed to remain in innocuous desuetude.

It may be too early to forecast the future course and final result of this fungus growth of error which has sprung up into renewed life almost overnight, and out of post-war stimuli. It will have to run its course and die out when its causes cease to operate. It could never have attained intellectual respectability, but for the countenance lent it by a small group of eminent men of whom Lodge and Doyle are the best known.

But already signs of the end are visible. Mr. Frederick W. H. Myers made an agreement with his friend and collaborator in the Society of Psychic Research, Sir Oliver, that after his death he would "manifest" himself in some reliable way. Some time after his death in 1901 references began to come from the spirits to the contents of a sealed envelope left with Lodge for purposes of test and locked in a box sealed with a four lettered inscription on the seal. It was to contain a passage from Plato's Symposium. It was to be further verified by a second envelope containing two letters left by Professor Sidgwick with his wife. When

³⁹. P. 75.

⁴⁰. P. 76.

finally the box was opened (December 13th 1904) there was no resemblance to the passage from Plato, nor did it refer to Professor Sidgwick.⁴¹ Thus the whole experiment proved a complete failure. Four years later Mrs. Myers and her son published a letter in the *Morning Post* (October 24th, 1908) referring to the "various spiritualistic messages purporting to come from my husband" and stating "that after a very careful examination of all the messages we have found nothing which we can conceive of the smallest evidential value." Such testimony should count for more than many Psychical Researches. There was another of the Psychic group known as "George Pelham" who died in 1892. Of him Andrew Lang said, "When alive he was a scholar and a metaphysician, when dead he had forgotten his Greek and in philosophy would have been plucked His prophecies would have ruined any sporting prophet. His excuses for his blunders bordered on the mendacious though fluent enough."⁴²

It is interesting to read how in 1874 Charles Darwin attended a seance at the house of his brother, Erasmus, in company with George Eliot and her husband and other notables at which he says, "chairs, flutes, bells, and candlesticks were flying about" and he exclaimed, "The Lord have mercy on us all, if we have to believe such rubbish."⁴³ Huxley refused even to investigate saying, "Better live a crossing sweeper than die and be made to talk twaddle by a medium hired at a guinea a seance."⁴⁴

⁴¹ *Religion and Spiritism*, p. 223 quoting from the *Proceedings of the Society of Psychic Research*, Vol. XX, and *Journal*, Vol. XX and VII.

⁴² Letter to the *Pilot*, November 23rd, 1901.

⁴³ *Life and Letters*, Vol III, p. 187.

⁴⁴ *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, p. 425. Mr. Edward Clodd in his book *The Question* gives these and many other facts and citations of much value. He is an English anthropologist of the extreme evolutionist type and has written numerous books and articles. This work is dedicated to "Professor Henry Edward Armstrong, Ph.D., L.L.D., D.Sc., F.R.S." who endorses the book in a postscript. In it he refers to a letter from Mr. Douglass Blackburn

It can surprise no one at all familiar with the history of the Society, to hear that it is challenged now in America to produce reliable evidence of "Survival." The present writer attended a performance in London in 1881 given by Messrs. Maskeylyne and Cook, conjurers, who offered to duplicate by tricks anything Spiritualists could do,—and Mr. Maskeylyne is still usefully busy. Now Mr. Joseph F. Rinn a New York merchant but also an expert conjurer offers to contribute five thousand dollars to the Society, if they will produce any evidence of "Survival" satisfying to a properly chosen Committee. He was himself a member of the Society, a close associate of Dr. Richard Hodgson also a member and a distinguished one. Mr. Rinn says he has a sealed letter from Hodgson written a few hours before his death, and offers another five thousand dollars to anyone who can learn from the spirits its contents. By way of showing his faith by his works, he publicly produced a message written on a slate from "Raymond" in the presence of a large audience. The holder of the slate, a believer in the spirits, was blind-folded. The audience saw Rinn write the message with his great toe! In short, Faraday was wiser sixty years ago than Sir Oliver is now. The bubble will burst after a little. Mr. Rinn makes this interesting statement: "I am one of the oldest living men today that have been active in Psychical Research, starting in in 1885, and a co-worker with many of the ablest men in the Society for years. Not one particle of evidence exists worthy of the name, in support of either Spirit Communication, or Telepathy which so many think

in *The Sunday Times* (September 16th, 1916,) in which he tells how he and a confederate hoaxed Messrs. Myers, Gurney, Podmore, and others, by sham telepathic demonstrations. Professor Sidgwick, the brilliant Cambridge philosophical scholar, was the intimate associate of Sir Oliver Lodge; had been once the President of the Society of Psychic Research and was willing to be convinced, but was never able to believe that the manifestations were otherwise than illusory, so Professor Armstrong concludes.

proven. I have offered rewards for years for proofs of telepathy, clairvoyance, and all the other occult claims made by believers, but nobody has ever been able to give the slightest reliable evidence in their support." "No real scientific investigations have ever been made by any of the so-called investigators with scientific names, as they were all easy marks for frauds."

"Great men are not always wise." Sir Oliver gives in the *Yale Review* for October 1919 what he considers "ample evidence" that he has at last had communication with Myers, and gotten a reply. Two mediums, one in America first, the other in Europe later, asked the "Myers controls" what suggestions the word "Lethe" had for him. He answered the one by citing a story in Ovid, the other by a passage or story from the Aeneid, and not the same story, though bearing on kindred matters. Where there are two questioners, two mediums, and no one knows how many "controls" interposing between the alleged spirit and his earthborn listeners, would any court of law admit such evidence to determine for instance whether it could be received as a postmortem statement in the case of a man who had died intestate and whose estate was in doubt? Sir Oliver admits further that "buried or unconscious knowledge," "fragments of literary reminiscence floating in the medium's mind" might conceivably account for the whole thing, and makes his whole case hinge on one word, a "meaningless word" written automatically by a scrawling pencil which seemed to be making flourishes and scrawls and among them, and built out of them, was the word "Dorr," the name of the American medium. This Sir Oliver calls "ample evidence." It certainly could be ampler, "conceivably," as he would probably find if he tried to cash a check in a place where he was unknown and had no better proof of identity. Would Pershing have risked battle on a "meaningless scrawl" claiming to be an order from Foch with no more certain corroboration that it came from him and not a German? It is probable that Mrs. Myers and her son would class this

among the messages from her husband "as not of the smallest evidential value." Dr. McCosh's *Criteria of Diverse Kinds of Truth*, will need to be rewritten if the New Revelation is accepted. Some one must tell us how to discriminate between the Revelations (1) "of the spirits of just men made perfect"; (2) of wicked, lying spirits, and (3) of those whose precise character is still undetermined. Professor Jastrow of the Department of Psychology in the University of Wisconsin is lecturing through the country to confute Sir Oliver Lodge. He cites Mr. Edward Clodd's excoriating denunciation of him—and with approval—not for any dishonesty,—but for "resorting to a modern witch of Endor and publishing a series of spurious communications a large portion of which is misleading drivel." "Your maleficent influence gives impetus to the recrudescence of superstition." Professor Jastrow criticises British scientists for spreading "unwise and unscientific impressions" in America.

One other eloquent voice whose winged words fly through the world has rung out trumpet-like calling men to battle against this reemergence of superstition. Rudyard Kipling also lost a son in the war, under peculiarly harrowing circumstances, as he has never been able to know his fate, whether he was killed at once, or lingered in agony or died in a German prison. Yet he sings as he has sung before to hearten men and women to hold fast to their faith in the Old Testament as well as the New.

The road to En-dor is easy to tread
For Mother or yearning Wife.
There, it is sure, we shall meet our Dead
As they were even in life.
Earth has not dreamed of the blessing in store
For desolate hearts on the road to En-dor.

Whispers shall comfort us out of the dark—
Hands—ah God!—that we knew!
Visions and voices—look and hark!—
Shall prove that our tale is true,
And that those who have passed to the further shore
May be halted—at a price—on the road to En-dor.

But they are so deep in their new eclipse
Nothing they say can reach,
Unless it be uttered by alien lips
And framed in a stranger's speech,
The son must send word to the mother that bore,
Through an hireling's mouth. 'Tis the rule of En-dor.

And not for nothing these gifts are shown
By such as delight our dead.
They must twitch and stiffen and slaver and groan
Ere the eyes are set in the head,
And the voice from the belly begins. Therefore,
We pay them a wage where they ply at En-dor.

Even so, we have need of faith
And patience to follow the clue.
Often at first what the dear one saith
Is babble or jest or untrue.
Lying spirits perplex us sore
Till our loves—and our lives—are well known at En-dor.

O the road to En-dor is the oldest road
And the craziest road of all!
Straight it runs to the Witch's abode,
As it did in the days of Saul.
And nothing has changed for the sorrow in store
For such as go down on the road to En-dor.

How is it that those who would persuade us to believe in intercourse with the "so-called dead" fall so dismally below the great classic expressions of faith in a supernatural order? Christian art and poetry have given us the great Cathedrals; the great Oratorios—the Messiah, the Creation; the great paintings—the Last Judgment, the Sistine Madonna, "Raphael's Bible" painted on the ceiling of the Loggia in the Vatican and especially that charming creation of his genius, Theology, "Rerum Divinarum Notitia" on the ceiling of the Pope's private library. All these are memorials worthy of "divine philosophy." But what sense of beauty, sublimity or the eternal fitness of things inspires Patience Worth even when she writes six hundred and forty pages as the life of the penitent thief and nine hundred thousand words in all thro' a ouija board? "The hand o' her do I put

be the hand o' her"—is a specimen. Horatio in Hamlet hits them all off well, "the sheeted dead did squeak and gibber in the Roman Streets." Squeaking and gibberish is the common patois of the average "spirits" and Patience Worth is not the worst and alas! not the last. And the best of them, those who on earth were men of light and leading, like Frederic Myers, the author of the poem *St. Paul*, how closely do they approach the plane on which the New Testament moved, or even the Old Testament company? Do they sing with David? Are they rapt as Isaiah; or can they mount on eagle's wings as John the Divine? With Sir Oliver Lodge on one side and Frederic Myers on the other one would think we might get something better than Ovid and Virgil and Lethe to link them together. What impoverished conceptions of God are seen in the spirit literature in general! What low views of the destiny and dignity of man, of angels; Eternity has no mystery and the *Dies Irae* no terrors! Julia's heaven is a hellish heaven or a heavenly hell, just as you please. It really makes little difference, earth, heaven, hell—they are all on a dead level, and that a very low level.

The words of Holy Writ, by general judgment of Christendom, have a unique afflatus, a Theopneustia which elevates them to a level far above any other writings. When Spiritists assume to make revelations of the realm and state of the dead, they challenge comparison between their own books and those which possess this quality. But there is another comparison which may and ought to be made,—how do the Spiritists look in contrast with the acknowledged leaders of the Christian Church who lay no claim to being infallibly inspired, and their masterpieces? The great Liturgies, the great Theologies, the great Hymns of the Ages, have they ever descended to the level of Spiritists? And yet indeed, there have been no Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs based on the awful joys of the ouija board, or the creepy thrills of the Haunted House. But why should there not be if we are to have a new New Testament written

by Julia or Sir Conan Doyle? Meanwhile let us try to be content with the *Te Deum* or *Ein Feste Burg*, all the mighty rhythms and majestic sweetness that mingle their sublime and touching strains in the classic hymnody of the Church Universal. What relative intellectual and moral position do even the best Spiritist writers sustain to, say, the Nicene Creed, or the Athanasian, or the Westminster Confession, or the general *corpus* of the Creeds of Christendom, Greek, Roman, and Protestant, or the Confessions of Augustin, or his City of God, or Jerome's Latin Vulgate, considered as a translation; or the Greek Fathers, or to Luther and Calvin, binary stars of the Reformation skies, or the substantial body of Divinity, Puritan, German, American,—of all Reformed lands, of which time and space fail us to speak? Sir Oliver Lodge is no doubt a great scientist and Sir Conan Doyle a great novelist. The former has drawn our hearts in compassionate sympathy for his sorrows. But when we come soberly to compare their arguments and reasonings about the world to come, with those of the true *Illuminati* of Christendom, since the Apostles left the earth, we can only say that they are pigmies beside them, and their talk the babble of foolish children. The weight and power of the centuries of Christian thought completely outclasses them.

The Westminster Confessors, when they had stated their doctrine of Holy Scripture, and named the books which compose it, added this significant limitation,—“*unto which nothing is at any time to be added whether by new revelations of the Spirit, or traditions of men.*” Nearly a century after the Assembly of Divines adjourned, Emmanuel Swedenborg began to make his New Revelations. He was a highly accomplished scholar, learned and devout, an original investigator in natural science, and broke out a new path in speculative theology. It is interesting to learn that Sir Oliver Lodge pronounces his vision “not wholly unreal and by no means wholly untrue.”⁴⁵ This may explain some aspects

⁴⁵ *Survival of Man*, p. 236.

of his own speculations. Swedenborg's angelology is *sui generis*, and his anthropology also. His doctrine of "the eternal God-man" has affinities with some modern notions,—for example Phillips Brooks. He held Christ to be fully God but denied any but a modal Trinity, denied the resurrection of the body in the ordinary sense, but held a high doctrine of inspiration though a mutilated Canon. After him at an immeasurable distance in dignity and character comes (1830) the Mormon Prophet Joseph Smith with his "gold plate" revelations of Mormon polygamy and its fantastic absurdities. He came strangely enough from the adjoining county to Margaret Fox, who twenty-five years later cracked her knee joints and toes to such effect. After these came a fourth revelator, Mary Baker G. Eddy, with her "*Science and Health*," a crude and ignorant Pantheism as a base for her gospel of the unreality of sin and sickness. There are others but these are enough to teach us how much we owe to the historically sound tradition of Christendom, which has preserved us our Canon, fencing it off from the writings of even pious men and women, and much more from the floods of impious nonsense, which else would have drowned the real Bible in the Seven Seas of folly and presumption. It is a great and dangerous temptation to imagine that we are inspired, if we are not,—Satan deceives the saints sometimes and makes them pose as Revelators. But "Thus saith the Lord" means more to us than "Thus saith Swedenborg," and much more than "Thus saith Joseph Smith" or "Thus saith Mrs. Eddy." Does it not mean still more than "Thus saith Sir Oliver Lodge or Sir Conan Doyle," charm they never so wisely; more than the *ipse dixit* of any of the large but inglorious company of the apostles of credulity, superstition, and science falsely so-called?

Confusion be to all their hosts, and ghosts! When broken hearted mourners, widowed, orphaned, crying from the depths of some divine despair are bidden to follow this *ignis fatuus*, let us persuade them to listen to God the Holy Spirit. If they need some form of sound words; summariz-

ing what is written of the future that seems so dark, bid them remember this— not inspired but very inspiring and comforting:

“The souls of believers are at their death made perfect in holiness, and do immediately pass into glory; and their bodies being still united to Christ do rest in their graves until the Resurrection.”

And this,

“At the resurrection believers being raised up in glory, shall be openly acknowledged and acquitted in the Day of Judgment, and made perfectly blessed in the full enjoying of God to all eternity.”

Easton, Pa.

JOHN FOX.

THE RELIGION OF MODERN CHINA

In view of the very large number of books which have been published during the past half century, setting forth the characteristics of the religions of China, it is, at first thought, astonishing to observe the confusion in the Western mind with regard to the religious condition of that great people on the other side of the world. A careful study of these books, however, will remove the appearance of strangeness, and make perfectly clear the reason why some declare their profound ignorance on the subject, others laud the Chinese religion to the skies as rendering missions to that land quite unnecessary, while still others deny that China has any religion at all. The reason is simply that so many of the books which have been written, and current newspaper articles, fail to make clear the distinction, which should never be obscured, between the religions and the religion of China, and the further distinction between her religions and her philosophies. Her religions are largely historical: her religion is a present fact, combining elements of all the historic religions with much which does not belong to any of them. Her philosophies are her ancient (and to a less extent modern) ethical ideals: her religions are her past and present spiritual relations. Practically all Chinese call themselves Confucianists; yet almost all are, for certain ceremonial functions, and in certain superstitions, either Buddhist or Taoist, or both. It is safe to say that not one Chinese in ten thousand can tell an inquirer what elements in his religious beliefs belong to one or another of these religions, or to none of them.

Historically speaking, there are three great Chinese religions, Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, the last named imported from India yet so transformed in China that we may almost style it indigenous. All three of these religions found their great formulators within a single century, the sixth before the Christian era; and certain great principles in each of them still bear that founder's name and

hold him in the veneration of many millions of adherents; yet neither Confucius nor Laocius (Laotze) originated the doctrines for which he stands sponsor, nor is the system now commonly known by his name a near approach to that originally set forth by him, while Chinese Buddhism is, in several respects, directly antipodal to the system formulated by Gautama Buddha. Confucius emphatically disclaimed any other office than that of transmitter of ancient beliefs and customs. Laocius, should he now appear, would find it quite impossible to recognize his doctrines in the superstition and magic of modern Taoism. Gautama would disown modern Buddhism as a manifold hybrid. In general it may be said that the most interesting and worthy part of China's present religion antedates the founding of the "Three Religions," while the present is the time of the lowest declension of all.

The frequent effort to divide the Chinese into so many million Confucianists, so many million Taoists, so many million Buddhists, is quite misleading, as well as useless. While there are certain of the educated who affect to despise both Buddhism and Taoism, yet even these engage the priests of these two cults to perform the rites for the dead, or select lucky days and places. Confucianism, being deficient on the spiritual side, has been supplemented by Buddhism with its meditation and worship, and that by the continued individual existence after death of Taoism, while there is ample reason to believe that a very considerable Christian element entered the composite in the earliest days of the Mahayana Buddhism. The pivotal word *tao* is common to all three, to the ancient religion which preceded them all, and to the Christianity which is superseding them, which has adopted it as the best translation of the *logos*, or *word*, of John 1:1. It has been variously translated as *god*, *logos*, *religion*, *nature*, *reason*, *law*, *principle*, *way*, etc.; but is now usually not translated at all. The early Canon of Taoism says, *Tao k'o tao fei ch'ang Tao*, which may be rendered, The universal principles which can be fully ex-

pressed are not the eternal,—or ultimate,—universal principles. It has been said that “Confucianism represents the politico-religious and moral side of Chinese life, the Family, the Community, the State ranking foremost. Taoism stands for the individual, for the ascetico-spiritualistic and magical side of the national life; while Buddhism especially represents the eschatological and soteriological phases”; but one needs to remember that early Christianity is responsible for the best that is in these phases. Buddhism and Taoism have usually been tolerant toward each other and toward Confucianism; while Confucianism has often been jealous of its rivals and persecuted them.

I believe that it will conduce to clearness of thought with reference both to China's historic religions and to her present religion, if we abandon the old division into three and consider them as five; namely, Pre-Confucian, Confucian, Taoist, Buddhist and Modern; and bear in mind that, so far as China is concerned, the first is chronologically distinct, the second and third contemporary, the fourth added after half a millennium, and the fifth the composite of the good and bad developments of the earlier four, with elements which all would disown. It is to this last that our attention is now directed; and we shall confine ourselves to only so much analysis of the other four as may be absolutely essential to the understanding of the Modern Religion of China.

There has been much dispute as to the ancient, pre-Confucian religion of China, the evidences from the Chinese Classics, and other records, conclusively proving, to the mind of the present writer, that it was not animistic, or polytheistic, or henotheistic, but distinctly monotheistic, in its earliest known stages, almost five thousand years ago. A strong family likeness to the ancient religion of Israel has been noted, a monotheism maintained continuously in the midst of surrounding polytheism and idolatry, persisting even in spite of the upgrowth, within the nation, of two great systems of polytheistic idolatry. Fairly authentic

Chinese antiquity may be roughly divided into three periods, viz., Primal-ancient, 2500-1200 B.C.; Mid-ancient, 1200-600 B.C.; Near-ancient, 600 B.C.—200 or 300 A.D. Each period possesses its own distinctive religious characteristics. Of the two preceding Confucius, the first was purely monotheistic, the second dualistic tending to materialism, yet with clear retention of the old monotheism. The third period was strongly materialistic, tending to agnosticism, yet exhibiting unquenchable aspirations for spirituality which sought satisfaction in Buddhism and a grossly spiritualized Taoism. The earliest names by which God was known were two, *Shang Ti*, or simply *Ti*, the Supreme Ruler, and *T'ien*, Heaven, the two used interchangeably, the latter in the more familiar way in which we also are accustomed to speak of *Heaven*. Like the Christian Bible, the Chinese Classics do not philosophize about the existence or nature of God, whose name suddenly appears on the first page of the Book of History somewhat as it appears in Genesis, "In the beginning, *God*." There was no image of any shape, nor idol-worship of any kind, nor any separated priesthood, save as the Emperor, "the Son of Heaven," was, in a sense, the Mediator between God and common men in the offering of the annual, national sacrifice to Heaven. Wicked acts, whether of peasant or emperor, are always denounced, but there appears little consciousness of sinful depravity; and sacrifice was not offered for sin but in gratitude for favors, to avert calamity, or secure future blessing. Prayer is not made for the forgiveness of sin; yet repentance, a change of life, is considered both indispensable and adequate. Goodness will surely be rewarded and wickedness punished. The departed great and good are with God in heaven, but the punishment of the wicked is that of deprivation of things prized on earth.

From the beginning of Chinese history, however, there are traces of another worship, on a different plane, never usurping the majesty of the Divine Worship, indeed definitely subordinated to it, namely, Ancestor Worship.

"Though the people realized through the Emperor their dependence upon God, yet they were debarred from worshipping Him directly, that being the prerogative of the Emperor alone. As men must worship, they took to worshipping their ancestors." Parents, as the visible source of life and the visible representatives of the authority of God, would form the most natural recipients of the lower grade of worship permitted to the common people. The fundamental duty of living men being filial piety, this was expanded from love and reverence to parents while alive to grief and sorrow for them when dead; the belief that they still lived in another world, appreciated services rendered and avenged those withheld, materialized this grief into post-mortem reverence and ministry. In the ancestral temple were deposited the tablets of many generations of ancestors, normally mere wooden tablets, a foot or two in length, a few inches in width, inscribed with the name and titles of the individual, and the characters for "Spirit-tablet" or "Spirit-seat"; but, on occasion of worship, indwelt by the ancestral spirit, just to receive the worship and then withdraw; so that the worship was not "animism," nor the tablet a "fetish," itself possessed of divine powers. Thus it has come to pass that the chief popular Confucian worship today is Ancestor Worship, though *Shang Ti* and *T'ien*, often called by the still more familiar name of *Lao T'ien Yeh*, Venerable Heavenly Parent, is recognized, hazily yet really, as the One God.

From ancient days has come down still another form of worship, the reverencing of a host of supernatural beings other than the Supreme Ruler, spirits of heaven, of air and of earth, executing the will of *Shang Ti*, whose titles, attributes and powers are never ascribed to them. Neither images nor temples were made for them, though sacrifices were offered on altars erected as occasion required. This worship of the powers of nature, in its earliest simplicity, seems somewhat akin to the old Hebrew belief in the "Heavenly Hosts," of many ranks and varied ministry, es-

sententially approved by our Lord and His Apostles, and is totally distinct from the modern Taoist demonology.

With the Chow dynasty, about 1200 B.C., we suddenly meet a new conception of God and the universe, most elaborately set forth in the I Ching, or Book of Permutations, the idea of which is that all things are subject to action and reaction, flux and reflux, represented in divination by the manipulation of long and short stalks of certain plants, the whole lines formed being strong, the divided lines weak. "The *Illimitable* produced the *Great Being*, which produced the *Two Principles*, which produced *All Things*." These two principles are active and passive, the *yang* and the *yin*. Heaven is *yang*, earth is *yin*; the sun is *yang*, the moon is *yin*; light is *yang*, darkness is *yin*; the male is *yang*, the female *yin*; the wise is *yang*, the foolish *yin*. So Heaven is the Universal Father, Earth the Universal Mother. From this time developed that dualistic, materialistic philosophy, afterward carried much farther in the gross superstitions of Buddhism and especially of Taoism. The spirits of nature and of the deceased, revered at first as ministers of the Supreme Being, came to be worshipped as independent powers of good and evil; and the simple consulting of Heaven in divination was degraded to the consulting of earth and air in the elaborate science of *Fêng-shwei*, wind-water, the geomancy which makes the whole people the slaves of clap-trap magicians, and has long kept closed the vast mineral resources of the land.

As to Human Duty, thus spake the great T'ang: "The Great God has conferred even on inferior people a moral sense, compliance with which would show their nature invariably right." His idea that the work of the sovereign is to make the people pursue this normal virtuous course has ruled ever since in the literature of China. Mencius says that the people are the most important element in a nation and the ruler is the lightest. The Manchus forgot this and fell: the people have not altogether forgotten it and the Republic stands. The great Shun admitted that "the mind

of man is restless, prone to err, its affinity to what is right is small." Mencius veered farther from the truth when he said, "Man's nature is good: its tendency to good is like the tendency of water to flow downward."

Most of what is rational and clean in modern Chinese thought and life, apart from the Christian influence, is definitely associated with Confucianism. The *Analects*, or *Obiter Dicta*, of Confucius is a book of apothegms, "unsorted gems." His teaching is summed up in two words, *Chung* and *Shu*, Loyalty and Magnanimity. "A man without magnanimity, what has he to do with ceremonies or music?—Only he who has the spirit of goodness within him is really able either to love or to hate.—Make conscientiousness and truth your guiding principles, and thus pass on to the cultivation of duty to your neighbor.—The man of high station who has courage without righteousness is a menace to the State; the common man who has courage without righteousness is nothing more than a brigand.—The real fault is to have faults and not try to mend them." There are other places where his emphasis on the Family lowers his ethical ideal to jesuitical casuistry; and he could not rise to the height of Laocius, the return of good for evil, though he did set forth the Golden Rule in a negative form. Perhaps the most valuable of the Confucian Classics is the tiny *Chung Yung*, "Doctrine of the Mean," or "The Conduct of Life," setting forth admirably the "Moral Law" as the Ordinance of God, the law of our being, the essence of religion, the universal, inescapable, spiritual force of Truth in the world. *The Book of Filial Duty*, both by precept and illustrious examples, sets forth strongly the supremacy of this among all the duties of man.

Confucius said nothing clearly about the state of man after death, though he evidently believed in the soul's continued existence. Realizing his own lack of precise knowledge, he abstained from unprofitable speculations, in marked contrast to the later protagonists of Taoism and Buddhism. He revered the God of Heaven and set him-

self to the tremendous task of reforming the society of earth in His fear; yet, though he "has held men through his moral sense, he has never satisfied the needs of the human soul." Mencius, his greatest exponent, elaborates the moral teachings and the political economy of Confucius; but rises little above the "Five Human Relations," ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder and younger brother, friend and friend, and the "Five Virtues," benevolence, justice, propriety (or reasonableness), knowledge and fidelity. The ancient Religion recognized all these as the Ordinances of God; but leaving out of the list the highest Relation of all, that between God and Man, later generations have increasingly ignored it as a practical factor and prime consideration in daily life.

The formulator of the philosophy of Taoism, dying in the obscurity to which he withdrew in discouragement, is now one of the chief gods of the religion of Taoism, which was not in the thought of Laoicius himself but came gradually into existence centuries after his death. His great exponent, Chwangtze, two or three centuries later than Laoicius, shows abundance of grotesque superstitions, but no religious institutions. Expeditions were made in search of the "Isles of the Immortals" and the "Herb of Immortality"; and a god called "Heaven's Lord" was introduced. The first Taoist "Pope," Chang Tao Ling, was invited to court, about the time of Christ. Buddhism, introduced from India, attracted the Taoists by numerous affinities, and their developing religion adopted temples, monasteries and public services from Buddhism, the "Three Precious Ones" of the Buddhist temple becoming the "Three Pure Ones" of the Taoist temple, with "The Most High Prince Lao" in the center. *Pan Ku*, "Chaos," "the first man," and *Yü Hwang Shang Ti* are the other two, the latter popularly confused with the *Shang Ti* of the Classics, though in reality but a canonized magician of the Chang family.

The chief classic of the Taoists is the *Tao Te Ching*, the *Canon of Reason and Virtue*, or *Canon of the Vitality of*

Universal Principles, containing many of Laocius' sayings, but also much that he never said, in a style so condensed as to offer unparalleled scope to the imagination and preconceptions of translators. The admittedly indescribable *tao* is thus described: "We look at it and do not see it: it is named the colorless. We listen for it and do not hear it: it is named the soundless. We try to grasp it and do not get hold of it: it is called the incorporeal. With these three qualities it cannot be investigated and defined; and hence we blend them together and form a unity. Its upper part is not bright; its lower part is not obscure. Ceaseless in its action, it yet cannot be named. Finally it returns and again becomes nothing: this is what is called the form of what is formless, the image of the invisible. This is what is called being incapable of determination. We meet it, but we do not see its front: we follow it, but we do not see its back parts. When we grasp the *Tao* that was of old so as to deal with the existences of the present, and are able to know the old beginnings, this is what is called having the clue of *Tao*." This, and most of the language of this book and that of Chwangtze, is most "tantalizing and elusive, one sentence profound, the next bosh and nonsense." Laocius' philosophy glorifies ignorance and emptiness, the extreme of Arcadian simplicity, unsociability, inaction; yet also praises the Christian virtues of humility, compassion, unselfishness, the recompensing of injury with kindness. China's age-long conservatism and exclusiveness are more largely traceable to Laocius than to any other of her sages. He has less to say of a Personal God than Confucius, and never ascribes Personality to *Tao*, the center of his system. The *Tao Te Ching* cannot properly be styled a religious book; nor is it well known in modern China; and the beautiful literary works of Chwangtze are rendered, by the extravagances and absurdities of his speculations, useless to the world.

Neither China's original religion, nor Confucianism at any time, has been a religion of idolatry. The introduc-

tion of an image of Buddha from India was the beginning of image-worship, and both Buddhism and Taoism have since multiplied idol-deities indefinitely. The cities and towns have their tutelary deities, and the state has its official gods, in charge of Taoist priests. Buddhism also imparted to Taoism a horrible thing, the belief in transmigration in its grossest form, with a frightfully realistic Purgatory of ten courts. Later Taoism adds the belief in an everlasting Hell for the unrepentant. Yet Taoism has its tracts, inculcating excellent moral principles, largely from Confucian sources, with an admixture of the bizarre and the grotesque.

"Next to India, China has done more for the development of Buddhism than any other country," said Dr. Edkins. The attractive picture of Buddha in Arnold's *Light of Asia* is drawn not so much from the historical Gautama as from the glorified Buddha of the Mahayana School, six centuries later. Oppressed with the great problem of pain and grief in human existence, Sakyamuni sought relief in the life of a hermit, but in vain. He spent the remainder of a long life in efforts to "extinguish the Ego" through the denial of all desire, and in the propagation, through an organization of seekers after Buddhahood, of this strange remedy for human ills. A beggar in rags; merciful to man, beast, plant and insect; tolerant of every belief and worship; yet regarding the holy man as above the ever-changing gods, many of the later stories of his birth and life strongly resemble the stories of Jesus Christ, from which the eclecticism and imitativeness characteristic of Buddhism in all ages, had doubtless adapted them. As early as 252 B.C., Asoka established a Board of Foreign Missions, eighteen of its missionaries reaching China, but producing no lasting impression. In the first century of our era, a new type of the religion appeared, the Mahayana, developed chiefly by Ashvagosha in "The Awakening of Faith," sometimes called "The Gospel of Buddhism." In this form it came to China in response to the embassy of the Emperor Ming Ti, of the

Han dynasty, which brought back images of Buddha, scriptures and two monks. Though welcomed, yet for 250 years no Chinese was allowed to become a monk, and progress was slow. Native clergy thereafter spread it with rapidity, and in spite of repeated persecutions, the destruction of thousands of monasteries and the secularization of hundreds of thousands of monks and nuns, it still has a strong hold, and has passed dominantly into Tibet and Mongolia, less influentially into Korea and Japan, adopting widely differing forms.

The old orthodox Hinayana Buddhism has no god or being to whom worship is given, and denies the existence of an individual soul in man. The Mahayana School has made the atheist Gautama himself a god and looks forward to a Paradise for pure souls. Neither School is the Buddhism of Gautama, the master-key to whose doctrines is Impermanence. The universal change is Kharma, not "Fate," but the sum total of deeds done in former existences, determining the measure of sufferings for this and subsequent existences. As one has said, "All he had for needy man was nothing; and his best of being was but not to be." "He saved men only by inducing them to flee from existence, for his salvation was not from sin but from desire." And so the Buddhist scheme "makes no provision for family, church, state, science or art. It throws no light on the heart's depravity, the origin of sin, the goodness, justice, holiness, fatherhood of God, or his remedy for sin." "Buddha's point of view was not only the profoundest pessimism ever advocated, but also the most utter selfishness, to escape for himself all the misery that can be escaped, with the assurance of a very poor measure of success." His Nirvana is not so much the extinction of life as of the desire for life, in which suffering consists, but the Parinirvana is the ultimate state, in which "neither gods nor men will see him, extinguished like a lamp and his kharma no longer capable of individualization." The Mahayana Buddhism recognizes a Trinity, *Amitabha*, the Everlasting, in

the center, and his two Counsellors, *Ta Shih Chih* and *Kwan Yin*, the former the "Remover of Sin," the latter the "Inspirer of Good," more commonly known as the "Goddess of Mercy," on his right and left, all, probably, borrowed from Christianity.

It is not denied that both the earlier and the later Buddhism contain some lofty moral teachings. They have their Ten Commandments, five for all men, five especially for clerics. The former are, "Do not destroy life. Do not steal. Do not commit adultery. Do not lie. Do not drink intoxicants." The latter are "Do not eat unauthorized food at night. Do not wear garlands or use perfumes. Sleep on a mat spread on the ground. Abstain from dancing, music, singing and stage plays. Do not receive gold or silver." The tourist visitor to Buddhist temples will discover that the tenth, at least, has never been learned! The mutual duties of parents and children, of pupils and teachers, husbands and wives, friends and companions, masters and servants, clerics and laymen, are all well set forth in Buddhist books. Meditation takes the place of sacrifice, prayer, adoration.

Such is the material of which the modern religion of China is woven. The warp is that venerable original monotheism, known later as Confucianism, and still visible today in that cult in spite of much admixture of less pure earthly strain, and in spite of the bizarre pattern and hybrid materials of the woof, formed of Buddhist idolatry, Taoist demonolatry, Mohammedan formalism, Christian evangelicism and human diabolism. Mohammedanism is an inheritance, a race, a party, rather than a vital religious factor. Christianity refuses to be interwoven into a composite religion. Yet both have their part in any picture of China's present religious condition.

China and the world were startled, near the close of the Nineteenth Century, by the appearance of a little book by China's greatest Viceroy, Chang Chih Tung, the translation of which was called *China's Only Hope*. Wider awake,

perhaps, than any other Chinese of his time to the weakness and the strength of his country, yet ludicrously ignorant of the world and its modern development, he perceived clearly the desperate need that the sleeping giant should awake, and that this awakening must be something more than material, military and political, though he had misread history sufficiently to assign to these a disproportionate importance. He says:

“There are now three things necessary to be done in order to save China from revolution. The first is to maintain the reigning dynasty; the second is to conserve the Holy Religion; and the third is to protect the Chinese race. These are inseparably connected; in fact they all together constitute one; for in order to protect the Chinese race we must conserve the Holy Religion, and if the Holy Religion is to be conserved, we are bound to maintain the dynasty. But it may be asked, How are we to protect the race? We reply, By knowledge; and knowledge is religion; and religion is propagated by strength.—Roman Catholicism and Protestantism have been propagated over three-fifths of the globe by military power. Our Holy Religion has flourished several thousand years without change. The early Emperors and Kings embellished our tenets by their noble examples and bequeathed to us the rich legacy which we now possess. The sovereigns were the teachers. The Han, the Tang, and all the dynasties to the Ming, 1800 years, honored and revered the religion of Confucius. Religion is the Government, and the emperors of our dynasty honor Confucianism with a still greater reverence.—Government and religion are inseparably linked together and constitute the warp of the past and the present, the woof of intercommunication between China and the West.—Confucian learning consists in the acquisition of extensive learning and the strict observance of what is right, in the profound and careful meditation of the old in order to understand the new; in the making of oneself the peer of heaven by means of perfect sincerity, and thus influencing men in all things for good. Confucian government consists in rendering honor to whom honor is due, and filial piety to whom filial piety is due; in first providing a sufficiency for the people and afterward instructing them; in preparing for war in time of peace, and in doing things at the proper time and in the

proper manner. Confucius is equal to the thousand sages and the hundred kings. He is the co-equal and the co-worker with heaven and earth in nourishing and transforming men and things.—Study begets knowledge, and knowledge strength.—Travel abroad for one year is more profitable than study at home for five. It has been well said that seeing is a hundred times better than hearing.—Buddhism and Taoism are decaying and cannot long exist, whilst the Western religion is flourishing and making progress every day. Buddhism is on its last legs, and Taoism is discouraged because its devils have become irresponsive and inefficacious.—Chinese learning is moral: Western learning is practical.—But if the ruling classes conclude to remain befuddled, indolent, aimless, braggart, useless, ignorant, without intercourse; if they elect to continue hopelessly proud, overbearing, sitting complacently in their places while the country is going to pieces and the Holy Religion is being eradicated; although they may adorn themselves in all the regalia of Confucius and quote long and elegantly from the Classics, although they may compose extended essays on ancient subjects and talk learnedly about Moral Philosophy, the whole world will forever reproach and revile them, saying, ‘Behold the scapegraces of Mencius and Confucius!’ — In China the fight for Confucianism against Taoism and Buddhism has been for principle. We now know what is right, that Confucianism is the pure and holy truth of Heaven and the sum and summit of the Five Relations. Not even the most distant countries can dispute this fact; and yet there are some who fear that our religion will decay, and are casting about for means to conserve it. In order to advance Confucianism we must reform the government and not everlastingly combat other religions. And because Confucianism as now practiced is inadequate to lift us from the present plight, why retaliate by scoffing at other religions?”

The great Viceroy's terms are eloquently expressive of what has come more and more clearly to be the actual position of China's Religions, during the score of years since he issued his strong and pathetic appeal, “Buddhism and Taoism are decaying,—Confucianism is inadequate.”

Even that unique annual solstitial sacrifice at the Altar of Heaven, maintained, with slight variations in ceremonial,

for more than four thousand years, at an uncovered white marble altar never used for any other purpose, where the Emperor as the "Son of Heaven" and High-priest of the empire, knelt humbly in reverence to the unseen and unimagined Supreme God of Heaven, nationally acknowledged as the Creator, Provider and Ruler of the Universe, has passed away. When, in the autumn of 1911, the revolution began which brought down the Imperial House in ruins, the "Son of Heaven" ceased to exist, and though one President tried to go through the old forms, the age of democracy had begun, and the position of national mediator was no longer tenable. The worship of Heaven was thrown open to the people. Entirely unpurposed by those in authority, yet interesting and significant in the extreme, were the scenes enacted in that historic grove, at the south end of the Capital City, in the early days of the Republic, January 1912. The entire place, including the great Prayer Altar, with its beautiful azure dome, one of the most conspicuous sights in Peking, was turned over to the Christians of that city; and for more than ten days the Christian Church was officially authorized to proclaim to the Chinese people through Jesus Christ, the God of Heaven, whom their ancestors, for thousands of years, had ignorantly worshipped. It was one of the most thrilling experiences of one's life to stand on that altar and preach the unsearchable riches of Christ, while below were spread copies of the Bible, Testaments, Gospels and Christian tracts, in which a brisk sale was carried on. The world was again thrilled, in 1913, by the appeal of President Yüan for universal prayer for China in her newly realized weakness and need. It was inevitable that, with the coming of the Republic, should appear the demand for religious liberty, and equally natural that this demand should be opposed even by some leaders of the imperfectly comprehended democratic movement, and much more by the many prominent men who were merely submitting to the revolution by donning the republican cloak in the hope of saving something for themselves from the wreck

of the fallen despotism. Not a few truly devoted Confucianists interpreted religious liberty as moral license and saw in the surrender of Confucian prestige a veritable abandonment of the Ark of God to the Philistines. Long conscious that their Sage was losing out in the contest with the "Sage of the West," they instituted a vigorous propaganda, under the leadership of Mr. Ch'en Huan Chang, a graduate of Columbia, organizing a "Confucian Church," lest their cause might suffer as "merely a philosophy." They tried to revive and beautify the ancient ritual at the great Confucian Temple, in Peking, with the annual sacrifice to the Sage and the music of the Chow dynasty, on venerable instruments of strange form and weird tone. The attendance of Chinese was exceedingly meager; the service was stiff and unimpressive: the whole spelled decadence, failure. Few, except the attendants, are now to be seen in the grounds of that great Temple, among the venerable cedars and the hundreds of stone tablets upon which are engraved the entire Classics and the names of many generations of literary graduates, or in that vast imageless shrine itself, containing naught but the "spirit-tablets" of the sage and his intimate disciples. The attendants shrug their shoulders as they tell you that the literati and the devout come no more thither. While this place, and the neighboring Buddhist Lama Temple, are still supported by the Government, the same being true of certain Taoist temples, yet land and money have been given officially to Christian schools and hospitals, and, but recently, by the President, a contribution, to the Methodist Episcopal Centenary Fund!

In 1916-17, the discussion of religious liberty came to a head in the Constitutional Convention, the original draft of a Permanent Constitution containing clauses guaranteeing absolute freedom of belief, worship, education and practice in religion. Confucianism made a mighty fight, on the ground that all the longevity, prosperity and morality of the nation had been founded on the doctrines of Confucius, which had become so interwoven with her life,

were so distinctly of China and adapted to China, that the nation could not live without Confucianism as the National Religion. A strenuous campaign was waged throughout the country, and produced thousands of letters and telegrams to the Convention. The Christians of the country, desiring "a fair field and no favor" for the Gospel, were no longer Greek and Roman Catholic and Protestant, but unitedly Christian; and they found the Buddhists, Taoists and Mohammedans ready to join forces with them against the common danger. The combination proved too strong even for the strongly intrenched Confucianists, and the only thing befitting a real republic was done, entire religious liberty was made a part of the Permanent Constitution then adopted, though not yet the law of the land by reason of the still waging civil strife, not between North and South, but between Militarists and Constitutionalists.

Confucianism always had been the dominant influence in Chinese politics. Familiarity with the teachings of Confucius, the basis of the ancient examination system, was the essential requirement not only for literary degrees but also for position in either the civil or military service of the Government. The abolition of those ancient examinations in 1905, and the substitution for them of a modern educational system, was the death-knell to the supremacy of Confucian literature and Confucian ideals. The Imperial Government, three years later, frightened by the rapidly developing symptoms of the Sage's mortal collapse, and apprehensive of the revolt of the old-time literati, whose occupation was gone, frantically sought to galvanize the stiffening form into new life by exalting Confucius to the rank of god, "the equal of Heaven." The result was only to hasten his demise, to entomb his earthly remains, and to remove his spirit, in the minds of men, to the other world, with a less vital hold upon the men of this world than ever before. China was not just then on the lookout for more man-made gods, but beginning to feel her need of a true man-making God; and the truly noble man of old, and his

doctrine, slipped into the discard when his deification was attempted. He had always been a strong moral influence for good: he had never himself possessed the power of an endless life, and had never been able to impart such life to others. It will be long before Confucian ideals are abandoned by the Chinese people, if ever they are; and great would be the pity should they pass away. They are being supplemented and transformed by the impact of other ideals, some better, some worse. The Western learning of the Young Chinese, gradually filling the public service, fits the best of them to lead China into her own: it also fits the worst of them for more subtle, shameless and efficient corruption than that of the old days. The Western Returned Student is the man of opportunity in China today; yet he labors under the enormous handicap of pagan domestic relations, age-old customs of bribery and "squeeze," and the abandoned dissipations of official social life; until the Christians among this class, torn between the enthusiastic patriotic ambitions with which they have returned to their native land and the horror of the pit of iniquity which lies across their way to the uplift of China, have cried aloud to the Christians of the world for sympathetic prayer that their faith and their manhood may not be overwhelmed in the humanly hopeless struggle in which they are engaged.

Yet all the time there are Confucian leaders who set forth in glowing terms the glories of Confucius and his religion, seeking to bring back to the old system and its leader the departed allegiance of the classes and the masses of China. And there are authors and orators, in Europe and America, who publish books and make speeches aiming to convince the world that Confuciansim is as good as Christianity,—in fact much better for China. The reason is simple: they have either not been in contact with Chinese life, or have left what they have seen unwritten and unsung, while setting forth before the world ancient ideals, and these still further idealized by an infusion of the best things of other sys-

tems. It has often been done unconsciously; but sometimes, one regrets to think, with a deliberate purpose of misrepresentation to those ignorant of the reality. While it is true that the West has over-emphasized individualism, it is also true that China has, in Confucian theory, and still more in practice, overemphasized the family as the social unit and the center of interest and responsibility; and unfortunately this social unit is not the "beautiful, beneficent patriarchal system" of the ancient Classics and their modern glorifications, but the sordid, bitter strife of tyranny and disobedience which renders the average Chinese home one of the saddest spots on earth. The Chinese filial piety of the present day is largely respect for dead ancestors, and even they would not receive a very large measure were it not for superstitious fear of vengeance for neglect and earthly fear of "loss of face" in the community. Details on this subject are not particularly germane to our subject. What has been said is based not merely on many years of personal observation, but on the authority of so eminent a person as the Hon. C. T. Wang, Christian Vice-President of the Chinese Senate, who, having seen both through long periods, set forth eloquently the superiority of the Christian to the Confucian Home, at a College Club dinner in Peking, and none of the hundred Chinese present seemed disposed to call his statements in question. It is with sadness, not in gloating satisfaction, that one perceives that the chief task of the Christian missionary lies right in this thing of which Confucianism has ever made her boast, the relations and the life of the family. For much of the obscenity and the immorality, in and out of the Chinese home, unquestionably the age-long practices of polygamy and concubinage are responsible. Licensed immorality in the home is bound to lead to immorality in society; and the Chinese seldom give the benefit of a doubt to any man or woman to whom attaches the slightest suspicion in this matter. It is only fair to say, however, that for the present increased prevalence of the social vice, in official and

student circles, one of China's neighbors is chiefly responsible.

As to the attitude of the modern Confucianist toward Christianity, a decided ebb and flow has been noticeable during these two decades of the new century. At present they are more open-minded than they have ever been before, in spite of the efforts of the "Confucian Church" to stiffen resistance to the encroachments of this "Religion of the West." The Christian Church, through its increasing native leadership, is assuming more and more of an indigenous character, and making a stronger appeal to the educated man; while the argument of the transformed life, as seen in men in high position and in low, is repeatedly proving the unanswerable argument. There are a few who, seeing the decadence or inadequacy of the native religions, have thought to combine all with Christianity in a new universal religion; but to the majority of thinking minds the present religion of China is too striking a commentary on the fatuity of human religious hybrids to require any further argument against the new proposition. The man-made religion, like the man-made god, will not meet China's felt need today.

What has been said hitherto with regard to present-day religious conditions has almost altogether had reference to the status of Confucianism, the religion especially of the educated, though claimed also, in many features, by all the people. So far as outward observances go, Taoism and Buddhism possess a far more popular character, especially in the southern half of the country, though even there a great falling off has been noted, and throughout the country thousands of temples have been deserted, fallen into ruin, been torn down or turned into schools. In North and Central China the attendants at the temples are comparatively few, and chiefly women. The Buddhist services are unintelligible, and all religious teaching is absent. Indeed it has seldom been given by any of the native religions, except in connection with the recent defensive programs.

There are numerous gala days with religious aspects, the New Year season, the Fifth Day of the Fifth Moon, the Fifteenth Day of the Eighth Moon, and the Annual Celebrations of famous temples, in city and country. At the New Year especially, there is not only a compulsory reckoning with earthly creditors, but also with Heaven, when the "Kitchen God," his mouth previously smeared with taffy, ascends to report the family life of the year. A new "Gate-god" and pious mottoes are also pasted up at this time. The "God of Wealth" receives homage, at set times and special, throughout the year, but does not seem to be able to keep his priests from poverty; while the "Fire God" was almost burned out, in Peking four years ago, and was unable to destroy the rival Christian chapel next door. These Taoist gods in general are cajoled and deceived with wonderful facility. An earring, or a girl's name, will conceal the identity of a prized son and prevent the envious god from carrying off the child whom it thus mistakes for a "mere girl." The gods are supposed to be particularly fond of theatrical performances, since the people are, and all the great temple fairs are enlivened with these, while the people, who come in gala array from far and near by thousands, devote so much attention to these performances, to the story-tellers, prestidigitators, fortune-tellers, stilt-walkers, to the buying and selling, eating and drinking, of these Vanity Fairs, that they have little thought for the temple or its gods, and what devotion they render is usually of the most formal. But these same temple-fairs are the great opportunities of the year for the Christian evangelist, who finds the idle people ready to listen to something new and ready to spend a few cash for a Gospel or a tract. Taoist monasteries are now few, and Taoism as a religion has lost any appeal it ever made to the educated man. Unfortunately, the passing of the monastery has not meant the passing of the monks and priests. There has developed for them an occupation more lucrative yet far more baneful than that for which the old order

was established. Supposed to have intimate acquaintance with the entire spirit world, demons as well as gods, they are believed to possess that great influence, so hard to deny, so easy to prove—to the already credulous—which can, for a consideration, influence all the conditions of this life and of the life to come.

The Chinese demon world is populous beyond imagination. Demons haunt every nook and corner of the world, public roads, private dwellings, the woods, the rivers, the fields, especially at night, when the *yin* influence is in control. They wound or kill travelers, set towns in commotion, kidnap children, cause droughts and floods, drag men to their death in streams and pools, cause cramps, avenge disturbance by mine-digging or railroad-building, produce deformities in children, make people insane, possess them, possess foxes, wolves, dogs, snakes, toads, pigs, cows, for the injury of men, develop temper to hysterical frenzy and suicide;—in short, are responsible for most of the ills of the world, physical, mental and spiritual. All life is a conflict with them, by hoodwinking devices, by avoiding certain probable haunts, by loud cries and falsetto singing, by the interposition of walls and hills in the supposed straight paths of these spirits, but above all by the charms, amulets, incantations and geomantic selections of times and places, out of the suggestion and preparation of which remedies the Taoist priests make an otherwise most precarious living. Most of the native medical practice is based upon these beliefs and remedies, rather than upon any knowledge of anatomy, physiology or hygiene; in fact much of it is in utter defiance of all these. The fire-cracker and the tomtom in connection with weddings, funerals, epidemics, droughts, floods, eclipses, are supposed to be very effective in driving away the demons, and even from the temples the demons are driven out once a year with a great racket. If a drought becomes severe, the local idol may be taken from his temple and stood in the sun for a few days that he may realize how hot and dry it is. Strange to say, the student

of Confucius is considered proof against the demons,—perhaps because too wise to believe in them,—and is often sought as an exorcist. For details, ad libitum, even ad nauseam, of this demonology and demonolatry, the reader is referred to De Groot's *Religions of China*; but with two strong cautions: Do not accept hastily his statements as to the source of these superstitions: Refuse his assertions as to their "salutary influence upon morals." No sufficient evidence is offered for the ascription of this poly-demonism to the early religious ideas of the Chinese. Most, if not all, of the degrading and foolishly terrifying notions are developments of Taoism and Buddhism, especially the former, and it is the acme of misrepresentation to say that these things "constitute to this day Confucian truth and wisdom of the very highest kind." Some of it undoubtedly forms a part of the foolishness of the uneducated "Confucianist," who is even more a Buddhist and a Taoist; but it is almost altogether lacking in the thought of the educated, having been driven still more resolutely to the limbo of obsolete and absurd guesses by the incoming of the rudiments of science. Moreover, the higher and purer part of it, that which really has come down from the ancients, also forms a part of every religion which contains much of the truth of God, namely, the existence of a realm of spirits, good and evil, directed or controlled of God in the highest interests of the godly. Again, Dr. DeGroot is in most unfortunate error in declaring that the Chinese doctrine of demons is morally uplifting, in "enforcing respect for human life and a charitable treatment of the weak and aged, in deterring men from injustices for fear of revenge, in preventing female infanticide." Large as this influence may be, life in China does not indicate that it is salutary or uplifting. In fact all the ideals which he has mentioned have been so degraded by the superstitions and terrors of poly-demonism that the majority of the people hardly know the meaning of "salutary," "respect," "charity," "benevolence," "humanity." This state of things is almost as far removed from the Confucian ideal as it is from the Christian.

The debasing influences of the poly-demonism of Taoism have been matched and supplemented by certain doctrines of Buddhism, especially that of metempsychosis. Buddhism in China once enjoyed intellectual vigor and scholarly leadership, great abbeys and magnificent temples: the former are almost entirely gone; the latter are neglected and falling into ruin, many of them now finding almost their sole support as summer resorts for Europeans and Americans and an increasing number of wealthy Chinese. The strange statement of Professor Giles that "Buddhism is now the dominant religion of China," can be justified only on the basis of the still greater declension of Taoism, and the persistence of Confucianism as a system of ethics rather than a religion: unless so understood, the statement is most misleading. Buddhism was countenanced by the late famous Empress Dowager to such an extent that she was most familiarly known to her entourage as "The Great Buddha." There is at present a convulsive revival of Buddhism, with modern translations of Buddhist Books and modern interpretations of its spirit.

"The very term Buddhism stands today for a maze of beliefs in which there are apparent, though often deceptive, analogies to almost every type of religious and philosophical thought in the West, and many others besides. It passes from apparent atheism and materialism to theism, polytheism and spiritualism. It is under one aspect mere pessimism; under another pure philanthropy; under another monastic communism; under another high morality; under another a variety of materialistic philosophy; under another simple demonology; under another a mere farrago of superstitions, including necromancy, witchcraft, idolatry and fetishism. This is due partly to the inherently indefinite and elastic character of early Buddhist doctrine and its defective provisions for man's fundamental religious needs; partly to the historic conditions under which it was propagated. Almost from the beginning it has manifested a Proteus-like gift of assimilation, a tendency to absorb or combine with other cults either higher or lower than itself, however incompatible with it they might appear to be."

In the form of Lamaism, Buddhism extends its influence from the European Caucasus eastward almost to Kamchatka, and southward to the Himalayas and the borders of Yünnan, and everywhere it has bound the people with fetters of formalism and superstition. In Mongolia, one in seven of the males is a Lama, or priest, while the several "Living Buddhas" of Mongolia and Tibet receive worship as divine beings. In China, there are a few good and sincere men among the Buddhist priests, and a very few truly learned in their own faith; but the mass are illiterate, dirty, immoral, and thoroughly sordid in all their thought. The people hire them to do their religion for them and despise the filthiness and knavery of their lives, regarding them as "holy ministers of religion" but "vile dregs of humanity."

Says Rhys Davids, "Not one of the 500,000,000 who offer flowers now and then on Buddhist shrines, who are more or less moulded by Buddhist teachings, is only or altogether a Buddhist." In China there are actually in existence "Three Religion Temples," with the images of Confucius and Laocius on the right and left of Buddha's image!

Mohammedans have been looked upon by the State mainly as a political menace. From 755 A.D., when the Turk or Tartar leader, An Lu Shan, rebelled against Hsüan Tsung, the empire was not free from trouble with the Moslems, which culminated in six rebellions between 1785 and 1876. A better spirit exists today, the Mohammedans being regarded as one of the five races represented by the stripes of the new republican flag. There are more than 20,000,000 Moslems in China; but they are not religiously aggressive, and their reputation for morality is very low, a large proportion of the thieves and brigands belonging to that cult, and many of their mullahs frankly admitting that their people are little amenable to moral instruction or control.

There can be no question that the historic religions of China, and with them the modern nondescript hybrid, are losing their hold, both on the people generally as cults which

have left their followers far behind in the advance of the world, and more especially on the educated, who see and interpret these facts more clearly, and who, under the influence of modern scientific training, have revolted strongly against the popular superstitions of Buddhism and Taoism. To a very perceptible extent, "the devil has been driven out of the man," and an approach has been attained to the "empty and swept and garnished" condition described by our Lord as pregnant with so much of peril of a more serious character. In China's case, moreover, the devil did not need to go "roaming through waste places, seeking rest and finding none," for he met the seven other and worse spirits on the very threshold. Chiefly from across the narrow Yellow Sea, there came crowding in, clad already in Chinese garb, the worn-out philosophies and the new, the Western Atheism of 100 years ago, the Western Agnosticism of 50 years ago, along with the Western Destructive Criticism, Materialism and Indifferentism of today; and "the last state of that man" bids fair to be "worse than the first." It is not the Westernism of Christianity that gives all these evil spirits the advantage in getting possession of the house; it is the strange combination of the spirituality of Christianity's truths and ideals with the pitiful indifference of the Western "supporters" of its advocates! The old cults are dying because inherently they have no life in them and can impart none. Not only are they antiquated, the good in them mingled with superstition and folly; but they possess no dynamic transforming and quickening power, China's desperate need of the hour. Their impotence to meet the new conditions and opportunities has become so apparent that China's leaders are demanding something more adequate; and the steady growth of the Christian Church; its introduction of every method looking to genuine enlightenment and uplift, regardless of the cost; its increasing emphasis upon native leadership and responsibility, are daily impressing a larger number of the thoughtful with the realization that Christianity, and Christianity alone,—not

as ignoring or rejecting the good in the old religions, but as embodying it all and adding to it yet better things and the previously lacking divine dynamic of redemption and regeneration,—has within itself the power to save China from her enervated self, and to give her that part in the making of the “New World” to which her earlier history and her natural virility entitle her. And the outstretched hand of this awakening is toward America, as toward no other country.

Peking.

COURTENAY H. FENN.

THE RECLOTHING AND CORONATION OF JOSHUA

Zechariah iii and vi

The clothing anew of the high priest, and the words that were spoken to him on that occasion, as shown in vision, and his coronation, set forth by the prophet Zechariah in a symbolical act, are not doubtful of meaning. Apart from a few details, the teaching is plain. Vision and symbol come at the culmination of prophecy concerning the Messiah, for whom Branch was a recognized name (Jer. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15), and my servant a title of distinction given of late to the lawful king of David's line (Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24, xxxvii. 24, 25; comp. Ps. cxxxii. 10, 17, Hag. ii. 23). In the vision Joshua the high priest is stripped of foul raiment, clad in clean garments, and provided with a clean mitre; and Jehovah retains him in office on condition of obedience, and addresses him, saying, "Thou and thy fellows are typical,¹ for lo! I am bringing my servant Branch; and I have set a stone before Joshua, and I will engrave the graving thereof, and I will remove the iniquity of that land in one day" (Zech. iii). And this vision is followed presently by the significant act of placing not a mitre, but a crown on the head of the high priest. The

¹ The priests are not said to be witnesses ('*edim*) or a testimony ('*eduth*), not an earnest or pledge ('*erabon* and "*arubbah*"); but a *morpheth*. This word is defined by Brown, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, p. 68 f, abridged, thus: 1. *Wonder*, as special display of God's power; 2. *sign* or *token* of future event, 1 Kin. 13:3, 35; *symbolic act* Is. 20:3, Ezek. 12:6, 11; 24:24, 27; cf. Zech. 3:8, *men who serve as a symbol or sign.*" The names of his two children, and of Isaiah himself, embodied the ideas of his prophecies, epitomized his teaching; in their persons also they were symbols of things to come (Isa. viii. 18); they were "signs and wonders." The peculiar deeds done before the people by Isaiah (Isa. xx. 3, "signs and wonders") and Ezekiel (Ezek. xii. 6, 11, xxiv. 24, 27) were typical, and are explained in the context to be typical, of what the future had in store. There is an inner relation between sign and thing signified, between symbol and the thing symbolized.

prophet is directed to set crowns, or a composite crown, on Joshua's head, and say to him in Jehovah's name, "Lo! a man, Branch by name, he, even he shall build the temple of Jehovah;"² and he, he shall bear the glory, and shall sit and rule upon his throne, and shall be priest upon his throne (or possibly, on his [Jehovah's] right hand; cp. the Greek text), and counsel of peace shall be between them both." Especially in the coronation scene do expositors of various critical schools see Messiah the priest-king evidently set forth in the words as transmitted.³

² The true temple: the community, the people of Jehovah (Dillmann, *Numeri*, S. 66, Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, p. 448, A. F. Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets*, p. 443, Köhler, *Weissagungen Sacharjas*, S. 207, and others who understand the Branch to be a different person from Zerubbabel). The "house" of Jehovah had already been used in this higher spiritual sense, Num. xii. 7, Jer. xii. 7, Hos. viii. 1, ix. 15. (Calvin, Wünsche, Keil, von Orelli, and others; and in Numbers xii. 7 Dillmann, Baentsch, Gray); Jehovah's land (Hitzig, Nowack, Cheyne, Marti, van Hoonacker, on Hosea; and in Jeremiah and Hosea Giesebrecht, Duhm, Cornill); also Graf, who says, "The people Israel, or rather the land occupied by this people" (on Jer. xii. 7); Jehovah's land in the sense of the state (Hitzig-Steiner on Hos. viii. 1); not the bare land itself, but the household of God erected on it (von Orelli). If the "temple" of Jehovah is used now for the first time in this spiritual sense, the occasion for that use had come. The contrast between the great work of the Messiah and the work which Zerubbabel was doing on the material temple called it into use. It obtained wide currency later.

³ According to Reuss, Joshua "steht aber hier nur als das Vorbild des künftigen Hohenpriesters, des Messias (Spross)"; but Reuss, perhaps with Ewald's reconstruction of the text in mind adds, "Oder fehlt ein ganzes Stück im Text und ist die eine Krone für Serubbabel, da anscheinend Priester und Herrscher geschieden werden und zwischen ihnen Eintracht sein soll?" (*Das Alte Testament: die Propheten*). "The Messiah, named Branch, . . . will unite in his crown the royal and priestly offices, for he will sit on his throne as priest" (Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, p. 448). That the union of the kingly and priestly offices in the Branch is taught in the text transmitted in vi. 9-15 is tacitly admitted by the assertion that the form of statement is due to an editor who changed the text to agree with the conditions of his own day, when the royal authority was actually vested in the high priest: thus, "Der Diaskeuast trug den Verhältnissen Rechnung, wie sie sich tatsächlich gestalteten: der Priester wurde das Haupt der Theokratie, nicht der Davidide" (Wellhausen); and similarly van Hoonacker, "Plus tard, à une époque où les circon-

Expositors are not lacking, however, who obtain an interpretation in which no allusion is made to the priestly office of the Messiah. Usually this result has been attained by altering the text either of one or both prophecies at crucial points. Thus, in chap. vi, after the words "make crowns and set [them] on the head of Joshua, the son of Jehozadak, the high priest," Eichhorn and Ewald⁴ add to the text a further statement "and on the head of Zerubabel." Having inserted these words Ewald entitles the prophetic transaction, "Two crowns for the two leaders, as signs of their future Messianic glory." The address of the prophet (verse 12f) is accordingly made to Zerubabel, the higher official of the two, and Joshua is not alluded to until the words "and shall be priest," in verse 13, are reached, which Ewald renders "and there shall be a priest."⁵

Wellhausen, Nowack, Marti, and other members of the same critical school, instead of adding to the Hebrew text, excise the latter part of verse 11, omitting the

stances avaient fait du grand prêtre le chef, en droit, de la nation juive, même dans l'ordre politique (une situation qu'il n'occupait point durant le premier siècle après le retour de l'exil, ni même probablement avant la période grecque), on trouva opportun de ne pas laisser la couronne déposée devant Jehoschoua, mais de la lui faire porter, comme insigne de la souveraineté." Duhm, who gives the preference to Ewald's theory regarding the original form of the text, says that the loss of the words "and on the head of Zerubbabel" from verse 11 is perhaps due not to an oversight, but to an intentional omission, made say at the time when the 110th Psalm was composed (*Theologie der Propheten*, p. 322, Anm. 1).

⁴ Eichhorn, *Die hebräischen Propheten*, 1819, S.354; Ewald, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1828, S.357.

⁵ Hitzig also proceeds on the theory that crowns are contemplated for two persons. He does not lay violent hands on the text itself, but mentally supplies "one of them," instead of "them," in verse 11, so as to make the thought to be "set [one of them] on the head of Joshua." The other crown is intended for the Messiah, to confirm the hope of his speedy appearance. Mentally to supply "one of them" is, however, itself an arbitrary interpretation. The object can be omitted after a verb when it is the same as the object of the preceding verb (Gen. ii. 19).

words, "and set [them] upon the head of Joshua, the son of Jehozadak, the high priest." Next, in verse 12, they alter "him" to "them," and they recommend the insertion of Joshua in verse 13, so as to read, "and Joshua shall be priest." Other changes which they make are minor, and negligible. When these alterations have been made in the text, nobody is represented as actually crowned; but a crown is made out of the gifts brought by three men from Babylon, made for Zerubbabel (he is the Branch), and laid up in the temple as a memorial. The address is spoken to the three men, and declares that Zerubbabel shall build the temple (comp. iv. 9f), and peaceful relations shall exist between him and Joshua.

Far less involved is the alteration of the text suggested and adopted by van Hoonacker, who substitutes "before" for "on the head of," **לפני** for **בראש**, in vi. 11, after the analogy of iii. 9. By this one change the text is freed from allusion to a union of the kingly and priestly offices in one person.

The text of chap. iii. 8 also is sometimes altered. Marti, and following him Mitchell, omit the words, "for (or that) I will bring my servant Shoot" or Branch. The clause is deleted as a gloss, not because the words are wanting in the ancient versions, for they are not, but on the ground (1) of "the original teaching" of chapter vi, when the text of that chapter has been recast by the omissions and alterations made by Wellhausen, and (2) because "there is no place for him," the Shoot, i.e., Zerubbabel, in chapter iii, at all. The prophet is there "dealing with the priesthood and its significance. The Shoot represents political power and glory." With that clause omitted, there is no reference to the priests as typical of the Branch. "The idea seems to be that these men, the priests as a class, are prophetic of good to the community they are serving" (Mitchell); they are "the guarantee of a happy future" (Marti).

The ancient versions, however, attest the transmitted text at all crucial points. Not theoretical reconstruction

of the text, therefore, but interpretation has the prior claim. Distinguished leaders in the school of Ewald in later days have returned to this method, rejecting the reconstruction proposed by the founder of the school, and retaining the transmitted text. Why, then, was the crown placed on the head of the high priest? Dillmann states the matter substantially thus: Zerubbabel was Jehovah's anointed, of the house of David, it is true; and his work, it was hoped, represented the first step in the fulfilment of the promises. But the Anointed of Jehovah, the Messiah, the Branch, is yet to come (iii. 8). He will bring the kingdom to completion, and will rule over it as king; and between king and priest there will be perfect harmony. The Branch is the coming king, not Zerubbabel; and the crowns are placed on the high priest's head, not on Zerubbabel's, lest it might seem that Zerubbabel should be proclaimed the Messiah; but, being placed on the high priest's head, the misunderstanding could not arise.⁶ On the other hand Riehm sees the priesthood of the Messiah symbolically proclaimed in the act. The coronation of the high priest typifies the Branch as priest-king; not that the Branch shall execute the priest's office and make atonement for his people, but only that he shall be the head and representative of a priestly nation, cleansed from sin and holy ([Ex. xix. 6, Isa. lxi. 6]). The offices of king and priest are not united in one person.⁷ In an important particular these two expositions lack grammatical support. To carry out their interpretations both Dillmann and Riehm are obliged to render verse 13 "and there shall be a priest on his throne," whereas the co-ordination of the verbs indicates that the true rendering is "and he shall be priest on his throne" (or, "on his [Jehovah's] right hand," as in Ps. cx). The clause is the last of the co-ordinated series, which begins with the emphatic pronoun of the third person, expressed

⁶ Dillmann, *Handbuch der Alttestamentlichen Theologie*, S. 538.

⁷ Riehm, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, S. 332; *Messianische Weissagung*, 1875, S. 187; second edition, English translation, 1891, p. 285.

independently of the verb. The structural change, breaking the co-ordination, occurs in the clause that follows, and is marked by the order in which the words are placed.

Still another method has been adopted in dealing with these prophecies. Without altering the Hebrew text of either vision or symbolical action, a meaning much similar to that obtained by the various reconstructions of the text is gotten by a rearrangement of the text aided by interpretation. By adopting this latter method Dr. W. Emery Barnes, Hulsean Professor of Divinity at the University of Cambridge, in editing anew the commentary on Haggai and Zechariah for the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*, 1917, has completely revolutionized the exposition of these prophecies which was given by the Ven. T. T. Perowne in the earlier commentary, published in 1890. The text that follows after chap. ii is arranged in this sequence: "iv. 1-6a (As far as, *Then he answered and spake unto me, saying,*); 10b-14 (Beginning, *These seven are the eyes of the Lord*); 6b-10a (Beginning, *This is the word of the Lord*, and ending, *the plummet in the hand of Zerubbabel*); iii. 1-9a (Ending, *saith the Lord of hosts*); vi. 9-15a (Ending, *hath sent me unto you*); v. 1-11; iii. 9b, 10 (Beginning, *and I will remove*); vi. 1-8" (page 39). According to the exposition that is given of these prophecies, facilitated by the rearrangement of the material, but not in every case dependent upon it, these prophecies are concerned largely with the conflicting claims, or the danger of conflicting claims, of the high priest and the civil governor. Thus the two olive trees (iv. 1-6a) represent Joshua and Zerubbabel, the two leaders of the Jewish people. "Both have the glory of standing by the Lord of the whole earth (verse 14), but it is Zerubbabel who is to be (like Solomon) the Temple-builder. He has begun the work, and he (so runs the word of Jehovah) shall finish it" (verse 9). There is honor "for both governor and high priest, but the first place is for Zerubbabel. The prophet [Zecha-

riah] is jealous for the house of David" (p. 44). "The words [of iv. 6b, *'Not by an army nor by power, but by my spirit'*] are a caution to Zerubbabel not to attempt to restore the kingdom to Judah with the help of the sword" (p. 46). The acquittal of Joshua (iii. 1-5) "represents Jehovah's renewed acceptance of the priesthood," but "there is yet Another who is destined by the LORD to stand above the high priest. Joshua must acknowledge the higher claims of him whom Jehovah designates as 'my servant the Shoot'" (verse 8), namely Zerubbabel, to whom is given "the quasi-Messianic title, 'the Shoot'" (p. 39f). Again the prophet teaches (vi. 9-15) that "Zerubbabel the prince is to rebuild the Temple which Solomon the king originally erected: Zerubbabel was to be the unquestioned head of the Jewish people. But Joshua the priest was to receive his share of honor. So Zechariah takes the opportunity of the presentation of the gifts of the household of Zephaniah to pay homage to Joshua. He puts upon his head a crown or chaplet of honor," thus completing "the clothing of the high priest with his distinctive dress (begun in iii. 4, 5)" (p. 56). "At the same time he reminds him that he is priest only, and not prince. His duty is to stand by the throne of another and to assist the man of the Lord's choice, whose title is the Shoot. Only a scion of the house of David (Zerubbabel) can be head of the nation" (p. 55). "A cleansing judgment must overtake the sinners within the Jewish community" (v. 1-4), in the near future or even in the present time. Its guilt, moreover, shall be removed, taken to the land of Shinar, and assigned in permanence to Judah's great enemy, Babylon (pp. 48-51); and God "will search out (literally 'feel') the iniquity of that land in one day" (iii. 9b). "The language . . . is purposely vague, probably because it was not safe to 'talk politics' in the days of the terrible Darius, but the Jews would understand the promise, 'I will *feel* the iniquity of *that land*' to mean, 'I will punish the iniquity of Babylon'" (p. 44). The final vision (vi. 1-8) reveals that "Jehovah himself

will take vengeance on the nations which have oppressed Judah; cp. iv. 6." "Guardian spirits are appointed for Judah; and avenging spirits go to execute punishment upon Babylon" (pp. 52f). Such is the result of rearrangement and interpretation. How jejune it is! How far short it falls of the program of good to Zion outlined in the introductory vision (i. 7-17)! How bitterly disappointing are these visions of petty human jealousy and personal rivalries, actual or threatening, to the high expectations which the introductory vision awakened of Zion's glory!

In the book of Zechariah, according to the theory propounded, the prophecies are in sad confusion. How came they into such disorder? The answer given to this question is the bold assumption that the visions and messages that came to the prophet were not written down either when received or immediately after delivery to the people, but probably the prophet treasured them for a time in his memory, and repeated them to his disciples in no particular order, haphazard, "here a little and there a little," "as occasion served." "His words would be committed to writing by his disciples perhaps before his death, perhaps after it." From these premises the conclusion is drawn that "most probably the present arrangement of his prophecies follows neither the simple order of time, nor the logical order of subjects." (pp. 37f). These assumptions do not represent the critical view. In current opinion Zechariah wrote his prophecies. That he may have allowed them to remain unwritten for a time, but treasured them in his memory, and drew upon them in his public discourse as occasion offered, is indeed possible. The prophet Hosea perhaps did not commit his teaching to writing till toward the close of his life; yet his book was his own composition. According to this analogy the book of Zechariah would be his own, and its arrangement his own. The theory that it was left to the disciples of Zechariah to

cherish his words, gather the fragments of his discourse from sentiments of love and piety, throw them together in wild confusion, and publish them without his supervision, is not "according to analogy." It was not the manner of the prophets. Jeremiah dictated his to an amanuensis (Jer. xxxvi. 2, 4, 18, 32); Habakkuk was told to write his (Hab. ii. 2.); Ezekiel seems to have written his (Ezek. i. 1, 4 et passim). Why not Zechariah too (cp. i. 8f, vii. 4, viii. 18)?

The proposed rearrangement and interpretation are confronted by exegetical difficulties at several crucial points. It is quite forced to interpret Jehovah's charge (iii. 7) to be a command to Joshua to be faithful "to the house of David represented now by the man called 'the Shoot'" (p. 42). For 1. The vision in iii. 1-9a has to do with the cleansing of the high priest from the pollution of sin, and when cleansed he is admonished to walk in Jehovah's ways and keep Jehovah's charge, (in a word, to go and sin no more), and he is promised on that condition his continuance in office. The high priest judged, i. e., governed the temple and directed its services. Joshua is conditionally promised these very honors and duties. Thus, "the promise is personal to him as high priest" (Mitchell). 2. To keep the charge denotes the faithful performance of the duties belonging to each person in his official capacity: to the king (1 Kin. ii. 3), the priest (Lev. viii. 35, Ezek. xl. 45, xlv. 15f), the Levite (Num. iii. 7, 25-38), Israel as the people of God (Deut. xi. 1, Mal. iii. 14), the laity (2 Chron. xxiii. 6). Here the vision concerns Joshua the high priest. He is charged to be faithful to his duty as high priest over the house of God. The explanation that the charge refers to "faithfulness to the house of David represented by the man called 'the Shoot'" is foreign to the passage.

"Thy fellows that sit before thee," who are mentioned in chap. iii. 8, are not "the exiles returned from Babylon," "referred to in vi. 14" (p. 42). Even on the rearrange-

ment of the text, the men spoken of in vi. 10 and 14 have not yet been mentioned by the prophet. "There can be no doubt that the persons here called the fellows, or companions, of Joshua are his associates in the priesthood" (Mitchell; so Wellhausen and commentators of all critical schools). They were accustomed to sit before him in conference to receive instructions; just as the prophet Samuel stood as head over the rank and file of the prophets, and as the prophets sat before Elisha, and the elders sat before Ezekiel (1 Sam. xix. 20, 2 Kin. iv. 38, Ezek. viii. 1, xiv 1.). It is as priests that Joshua and his fellows are typical.

The latter part of verse 9 of chap. iii. speaks of "that land." Professor Barnes transfers this part of the verse and places it after chap. v. verse 11, at the end of the vision that pictures Wickedness imprisoned and removed to the land of Shinar; so that the antecedent of "that land" is the land of Shinar. In the third vision, from which the sentence is separated, no particular land has been mentioned. It does not need to be. In Jer. iii. 1 "that land" is mentioned, but none is named. The antecedent is implied; that land where the people dwell who are spoken of, who do the deeds described. In Zech. iii. 9 there is even less need that an antecedent be expressed in the words that immediately precede. For the holy land is in all minds. It is prominent in the second vision (i. 21); and the third vision reaches a conclusion in the promise that "Jehovah shall inherit Judah as his portion in the holy land, and shall yet choose Jerusalem" (ii. 12). And not only is the land of God's people in all minds, but in this fourth vision, chap. iii, the revelation concerns Joshua the high priest [of Judah] and Branch [the king of Judah], and concludes with the promise that God will take away the iniquity of "that land." It requires no mental effort to perceive what land is meant.

There is another objection to transferring this sentence from iii. 9 to a place after the mention of the land of

Shinar (v. 11), namely the meaning of the verb. The verb means remove or, from a different root, feel. It can have the former meaning in this new position (after v. 11) only if it be allowed to have as its antecedent the land referred to, not in v. 11, but in v. 3, namely the land given to God's people, and which is known as the holy land. The latter sense is not appropriate after v. 11; for the verb nowhere means search out, bring to light, by feeling, but seek information by feeling (Gen. xxvii. 12, 21, 22), seek to find by feeling (Gen. xxxi. 34f, 37, Piel); and the iniquity of the land of Shinar did not need to be groped for, felt for. It cried to heaven.

The paragraph iv. 6b-10a does indeed "promise success to Zerubbabel"; but there is not the least whisper of a warning to Zerubbabel against attempting "to restore the kingdom to Judah with the help of the sword," nor is there the slightest ground for the suggestion that the prophet probably "knew of secret movements towards rebellion in which Judah might be involved." The words of verse 6 are a reminder to Zerubbabel of the truth that success in one's work depends on the Spirit of God. The "success promised" to him is explicitly stated to be in the first instance success in his efforts to rebuild the temple (verse 9f).⁸

⁸ The olive branches (Zech. iv. 12) are not specifically mentioned in the general description (verses 2 and 3); but particulars are not always mentioned in the general description of a vision or allegory. Verse 12 belongs to the transmitted text, and Barnes retains it. There is no need to mutilate the text, as some do, or to change the order. The meaning is clear.

The words addressed to Zerubbabel in verse 6 are a statement of fact. The light of the community burns, feebly no doubt for it was a day of small things; but the light burns because, as shown in vision, two olive trees, two "sons of oil," producers of oil (verse 14) are growing beside the lampstand and from their branches are emptying oil, a constant emblem of the divine Spirit, into the spouts; an unfailing source of supply, provided by the God of nature and grace, independent of men. And the prophet is taught the meaning: not by force of arms or might, or power of man; but by the Spirit of God. Such is the encouraging fact. The light will keep burning; and first of all Zerubbabel's efforts, in the face of a mountain

The coronation of the high priest, vi. 9-15, is placed after iii. 1-9a, and the remark is made that "the clothing of the high priest with his distinctive dress (begun in iii. 4, 5) is completed according to the law of Exod. xxix. 6" by putting a golden plate or diadem on the mitre; and "the symbolic action of crowning Joshua is of the nature of a reassurance. Joshua shall hold a place of high honor, yet not he but another is Jehovah's servant charged with the duty and honor of rebuilding the temple." The latter "shall be chief ruler, and Joshua is to be priest beside his throne" (pp. 56f). Three obstacles lie athwart this interpretation of the prophecy: 1. The raiment of the high priest is not explicitly completed anywhere in these prophecies. The ephod and breastplate, essential parts of the official garments of the high priest, are not specified when his clothing is mentioned (iii. 4, 5), and there was no need to specify the golden plate when the mitre was mentioned. In each case the general term includes the particulars. 2. On Joshua's head is placed a crown (*'aṭarah*); the high priest wore a mitre, and on the mitre a diadem (*nezer*, Ex. xxxix. 30f). 3. The diadem of the high priest was not made of two metals, silver and gold, as was the crown that was placed on the head of Joshua. It was simply a plate of pure gold, fastened by cords on the front of the mitre (Ex. xxviii. 36, xxix. 30, Lev. viii. 9). The composite crown, therefore, which the prophet is commanded to make, would not complete the holy attire of the high priest as prescribed by law. Being different from the priestly diadem, it introduces a new feature of some kind, symbolizes something new in the significance of the high priest.

In vi. 13 the translation "and there shall be a priest

of difficulties, to rebuild the temple will be crowned with success. The beginning may seem small; but the sight of the plummet in Zerubbabel's hand has gladdened these seven, the eyes of Jehovah which take note of all things everywhere (iii. 9, 2 Chron. xvi. 9, Rev. v. 6).

beside his throne," is objectionable from the standpoint of syntax. The rendering given in the text of the A. V. and the R. V., "and he shall be" is indicated as the meaning of the prophet by the co-ordination of the verbs. The change of subject takes place in the next announcement by the prophet, and is indicated in the Hebrew text by placing the new subject, "counsel of peace," before its verb.

Such is the latest attempt to unfold the meaning of the visions of Zechariah and the symbolical act which he was directed to perform. The words of the prophet have been kept entire, not one of them has been allowed to fall, only transposed and newly explained; but the theory that is offered to justify rearrangement is wilful, because lacking support, and in the exegesis glaring faults appear.

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“MISERABLE-SINNER CHRISTIANITY”* IN THE HANDS OF THE RATIONALISTS

I. FROM RITSCHL TO WERNLE

It belongs to the very essence of the type of Christianity propagated by the Reformation that the believer should feel himself continuously unworthy of the grace by which he lives. At the centre of this type of Christianity lies the contrast of sin and grace; and about this centre everything else revolves. This is in large part the meaning of the emphasis put in this type of Christianity on justification by faith. It is its conviction that there is nothing in us or done by us, at any stage of our earthly development, because of which we are acceptable to God. We must always be accepted for Christ's sake, or we cannot ever be accepted at all. This is not true of us only "when we believe." It is just as true after we have believed. It will continue to be true as long as we live. Our need of Christ does not cease with our believing; nor does the nature of our relation to Him or to God through Him ever alter, no matter what our attainments in Christian graces or our achievements in Christian behavior may be. It is always on His "blood and righteousness" alone that we can rest. There is never anything that we are or have or do that can take His place, or that can take a place along with Him. We are always unworthy, and all that we have or do of good is always of pure grace. Though blessed with every spiritual blessing in the heavenlies in Christ, we are still in ourselves just "miserable sinners": "miserable sinners" saved by grace to be sure, but "miserable sinners" still, deserving in ourselves nothing but everlasting wrath. That is the attitude which the Reformers took, and that is the attitude which the Protestant world has learned from the Reformers to take, toward the relation of believers to Christ.

* *Armesünderchristentum*. The term has become practically a technical term to express the particular attitude of the Christian towards sin in the teaching and life of the Churches of the Reformation.

There is emphasized in this attitude the believer's continued sinfulness in fact and in act; and his continued sense of his sinfulness. And this carries with it recognition of the necessity of unbroken penitence throughout life. The Christian is conceived fundamentally in other words as a penitent sinner.¹ But that is not all that is to be said: it is not even the main thing that must be said. It is therefore gravely inadequate to describe the spirit of "miserable-sinner Christianity" as "the spirit of continuous but not un-hopeful penitence." It is not merely that this is too negative a description, and that we must at least say, "the spirit of continuous though hopeful penitence." It is a wholly un-comprehending description, and misplaces the emphasis altogether. The spirit of this Christianity is a spirit of penitent indeed, but overmastering exultation. The attitude of the "miserable sinner" is not only not one of despair; it is not even one of depression; and not even one of hesitation or doubt; hope is too weak a word to apply to it. It is an attitude of exultant joy. Only this joy has its ground not in ourselves but in our Savior. We are sinners and we know ourselves to be sinners, lost and helpless in ourselves. But we are saved sinners; and it is our salvation which gives the tone to our life, a tone of joy which swells in exact proportion to the sense we have of our ill-desert; for it is he to whom much is forgiven who loves much, and who, loving, rejoices much. Adolf Harnack declares that this mood was brought into Christianity by Augustine. Before Augustine the characteristic frame of mind of Christians was the racking unrest of alternating hopes and fears. Augustine, the first of the Evangelicals, created a new piety of assured rest in God our Savior, and the psychological form of this new piety was, as Harnack phrases it,² "solaced contrition,"—affliction

¹Accordingly the first of Luther's Ninety-Five Theses runs: "Our Lord and Master Jesus Christ in teaching, 'Repent,' etc. intended penitence to be the whole life of believers." Cf. *The Princeton Theological Review*, Oct. 1917, pp. 511 f.

²*Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*. III. p. 59 (E. T. Vol. V, P. 66). "getrösteter Sündenschmerz". Cf. *The Princeton Theological Review*, January, 1905. pp. 97 f.

for sin, yes, the deepest and most poignant remorse for sin, but not unrelieved remorse, but appeased remorse. There is no other joy on earth like that of appeased remorse: it is not only in heaven but on earth also that the joy over one sinner that repents surpasses that over ninety and nine just persons who need no repentance.

The type of piety brought in by Augustine was pushed out of sight by the emphasis on human graces which marked the Middle Ages. Luther brought it back. His own experience fixed ineradicably in his heart the conviction that he was a "miserable sinner," deserving of death, and alive only through the inexplicable grace of God. What we call his conversion was his discovery of this bitter-sweet fact. He had tried to think highly of himself. He found that he could not do so. But he found also that he could not possibly think too highly of Christ. And so it became his joy to be a "miserable sinner," resting solely on the grace of Christ; and to preach the gospel of the "miserable sinner" to the world. This is the very hinge on which his Reformation turns, and of course, Luther gave expression to it endlessly in those documents in which his Reformation-work has been preserved to us.

He is never weary of setting the two aspects in which the "miserable sinner" may be viewed side by side. "These things," he says, in one place,³ "are diametrically opposed,—that the Christian is righteous and loved of God, yet is at the same time a sinner. For God cannot deny His nature, that is, cannot but hate sin and sinners, and this He does necessarily, for otherwise He would be unjust and would love sin. How then are these two contradictories both true: I am sinful and deserve the divine wrath and hatred; and the Father loves me? Nothing at all brings it about except Christ the Mediator. The Father, He says, loves you, not because you are worthy of love, but because you have

³ *Ad Gal I*, 338 (1534) The three quotations from Luther which follow are taken from J. Gottschick's article, *Propter Christum*, in the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, VII, (1887), pp. 378-384.

loved Me and believed that I came forth from Him. Thus the Christian remains in pure humility, deeply sensible of his sin, and acknowledging himself, on its account, to be deserving of God's wrath and judgment and eternal death. . . . He remains also at the same time in pure and holy pride, in which he turns to Christ and arouses himself through Him against this sense of wrath and the divine judgment, and believes not only that the remainders of sin are not imputed to him, but also that he is loved by the Father, not on his own account but on account of Christ the Beloved."

"A Christian," says Luther again,⁴ "is at the same time a sinner and a saint; he is at once bad and good. For in our own person we are in sin, and in our own name we are sinners. But Christ brings us another name in which there is forgiveness of sin, so that for His sake our sin is forgiven and done away. Both then are true. There are sins and yet there are no sins. The reason is that for Christ's sake, God will not see them. They exist for my eyes; I see them, and feel them, too. But Christ is there who bids me preach that I am to repent—and then believe in the forgiveness of sin in His name. . . . Where such faith is, therefore, God no longer sees sin. For thou standest there for God not in thy name but in Christ's name; thou dost adorn thyself with grace and righteousness although in thine own eyes and in thine own person, thou art a miserable sinner (*armer Sünder*) . . . Let not that, however, scare you to death. Speak, rather, thus: Ah, Lord, I am a miserable sinner (*armer Sünder*), but I shall not remain such for Thou hast commanded that forgiveness of sins be preached in Thy name . . . Thus our Lord Jesus Christ alone is the garment of grace that is put upon us, that God our Father may not look upon us as sinners but receive us as righteous, holy, godly children, and give us eternal life."

"We, however, teach," he says again,⁵ "that we are to

⁴II. 197 (*Works*, Erlangen Ed.).

⁵XVIII. 294f, (1582).

learn to know and regard Him, as Him who sits there for the poor, stupid conscience, if so be that we believe on Him, not as a judge . . . but as a gracious, kind, comforting mediator between my frightened conscience and God; and says to me—You are a sinner, and are afraid that the devil will drag you by the law before the judgment seat; come then and hold fast to me, and fear no wrath. Why? Because I sit here for the very purpose that if you believe in me, I can come between you and God so that no wrath or evil can touch you. For if wrath and punishment go over you, they must first go over me, and that is not possible . . . Therefore we are all through faith altogether blissful and safe, so that we shall abide uncondemned, not for the sake of our own purity and holiness, but for Christ's sake, because, through such faith, we hold on to Him as our Mercy-seat, assured that in and with Him no wrath can remain, but pure love, indulgence, forgiveness."

Embedded in the Protestant formularies, both doctrinal and devotional, this "miserable-sinner" conception of the Christian life has moulded the piety of all the Protestant generations. Throughout the Protestant world believers confess themselves to be, still as believers, wrath-deserving sinners; and that not merely with reference to their inborn sinful nature as yet incompletely eradicated, but with reference also to their total life-manifestation which their incompletely eradicated sinful nature flows into and vitiates. Their continued sinning, indeed, is already confessed whenever they repeat the Lord's Prayer, since, among the very few petitions included in it, is the very emphatic one: "Forgive us our trespasses."⁶ Naturally there-

⁶ Ἀμαρτίας, Lk. xi. 4; ὀφειλήματα, Mt. vi. 12; "trespasses" in the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*; "debts" in the Presbyterian *Book of Common Worship*. The meaning is the same in every case, and the constant repetition of the Lord's Prayer in either form is a constant confession of continual sinning. It is admitted on all hands that Jesus did not look upon His followers as men who had ceased to sin. For recent statements from writers who would not allow as much of Paul see Weinel, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, 1913, p. 189;

fore, the expositions of this prayer, designed for the instruction of the several churches in their attitude toward God, are the special depository of pointed reminders to believers of their continual sinning. Luther, for example, incorporates a very full and searching exposition of "the Fifth Petition" into his Large Catechism, in which he affirms that "we sin daily in words and deeds, by commission and omission," and warns us that "no one is to think that so long as he lives here below he can bring it about that he does not need such forgiveness"; that, in fact, "unless God forgives without cessation, we are lost."⁷ It is by his Short Catechism of 1529 however that Luther has kept his hand most permanently on the instruction of the churches. In it he teaches the catechumen to say that "God richly forgives me and all believers every day, all our sins," "for we sin much every day and deserve nothing but punishment."⁸ In the instructions for the confessional coming from the hand of Luther which were soon incorporated into this Short Catechism, the believing penitent accordingly is told to say "I, miserable sinner (*armer Sünder*), confess myself before God guilty of all manner of sins . . ."⁹ The hold which this teaching has taken of the devotional expressions of the Lutheran churches may be illustrated by the

and especially H. Windisch, *Taufe und Sünde*, etc., 1908, p. 534: "Miserable-sinnerism even finds support in the Bible also. Jesus, for example, by the side of the Methodist notion of conversion which He employs; by the side of the strict requirement of cleansing; recognizes the continuance of sinning and quite like all Lutheran Christians assures His disciples of the divine clemency." So also P. Wernle, *Der Christ und die Sünde bei Paulus*, 1897, p. 12f., where we are told that Paul has gone far beyond Jesus, has nothing to say of no one being good, or of prayer for forgiveness, and brings the pneumatic closer to God. "It may be said that Paul thought worse of men and better of Christians than Jesus. Both the theory of original sin and the theory of the 'flesh' are alien to Jesus, but so is the doctrine that the Christian no longer sins."

⁷ See Th. Hardeland, *Der Kleine Katechismus D. Martini Lutheri*, 1889, p. 186; cf. H. Scholz, *ZThK*. 1896, p. 471.

⁸ Hardeland, as cited, p. 137 (155 f), and 185; P. Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom*, 1878, pp. 80, 82.

⁹ Schaff, as cited, p. 88.

presence in the new Agenda of the National Prussian Church of a Confession of Sin for the whole congregation which runs thus: "We confess that we were conceived and born in sin; and, full of ignorance and heedlessness of Thy divine word and will, always prone to all wickedness and slack to all good, we transgress Thy divine commandments unceasingly in thoughts, words and deeds."¹⁰ Naturally it retains its place in the forms of service adopted for "the three bodies" of American Lutherans. In the German form¹¹ the Confession of Sin takes this shape: "I, poor sinful man, confess to God, the Almighty, my Creator and Redeemer, that I not only have sinned in thoughts, words and deeds, but also was conceived and born in sin, and so all my nature and being is deserving of punishment and condemnation before His righteousness. Therefore I flee to His gratuitous mercy and seek and beseech His grace. Lord, be merciful to me, miserable sinner (*armer Sünder*).¹²" The English form is to the same effect.¹²

It is the same in the Reformed churches as in the Lutheran: catechisms and liturgies alike embody the confession of the continued sinfulness of the Christian, and his continued dependence on the forgiving grace of Christ. In Calvin's Catechism the catechumen is made to declare that there is no man living so righteous that he does not need to make request for the forgiveness of his sins, that Christ has therefore prescribed a prayer for forgiveness of sins for the whole church, and that he who would exempt himself from it "refuseth to bee of the companie of Christes flocke; and in very deed the Scriptures doe plainlie testifie, that the most perfect man that is, if he would alleadge one point

¹⁰ H. Scholz, as cited, p. 472.

¹¹ *Gemeinen Versammlung der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirchen im Nord Amerika*, 1908, p. 4.

¹² *The Common Service for the Use of Evangelical Congregations*, 1907, p. 1: "Almighty God, our Maker and Redeemer, we poor sinners confess unto Thee that we are by nature sinful and unclean, and that we have sinned against Thee by thought, word and deed. Wherefore we flee for refuge to Thine infinite mercy, seeking and imploring Thy grace, for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ."

to justify him selfe thereby before God, should bee found faultie in a thousand." "It is meete therefore," it concludes, "that everie man have a recourse continuously unto God's mercie."¹³ When expounding at an earlier point¹⁴ the clause in the Creed, "I believe in the forgiveness of sins," it is said that God "doeth freely forgive all the sinnes of them that believe on him," the comprehensiveness of the language is intended to include in the declaration sins committed after as well as before the inception of faith. And therefore, when good works come to be treated of,¹⁵ it is said that they are "not worthy of themselves to be accepted," "because there is mixed some filth through the infirmity of the flesh, whereby they are defiled." They are accepted by God therefore "only because it pleaseth God of his goodness to love us freely, and so to cover and forget our fautes."

The teaching of the Heidelberg Catechism is to the same effect. We increase our guilt daily, we are told;¹⁶ our whole Christian life is occupied with a conflict against sin and the devil;¹⁷ and our best works in this life are imperfect and defiled with sin.¹⁸ To the question whether those that have been converted can keep God's law perfectly, it is answered explicitly, "No, but even the holiest men, while in this life, have only a small beginning of this obedience, yet so that with earnest purpose they begin to live, not only according to some but according to all the commandments of God."¹⁹ As in Calvin's Catechism, the most comprehensive language is employed however, in expounding the clause of the Creed on the forgiveness of sins. "I believe that God for the satisfaction of Christ," we read, "hath quite put out of His

¹³ We quote from the old English translation first printed at Geneva, 1556, as reprinted by Horatius Bonar, *Catechisms of the Scottish Reformation*, 1866, p. 66.

¹⁴ P. 26.

¹⁵ Pp. 31f.

¹⁶ Q. 13.

¹⁷ Q. 52.

¹⁸ Q. 62.

¹⁹ Q. 114.

remembrance all my sins, and even that corruption also wherewith I must strive all my life long."²⁰ And naturally the exposition of "the Fifth Petition" of the Lord's Prayer²¹ is the occasion for repeating that we are "miserable sinners" (*arme Sünder*) burdened not merely with the evil which always still clings to us, but also with numerous transgressions.

Perhaps this series of truths never received crisper statement, however, than at the hands of John Craig in his larger Catechism (1581), on the basis whether of the article of the creed or of the petition of the prayer.²² "Why is remission of sinnes put here? Because it is proper to the Church and members of the same. Wherefore is it proper to the Church only? Because in the Church only is the spirit of faith and repentance . . . How oft are sinnes forgiven us? Continually even unto our live's end. What need is there of this? Because sinne is never thoroughly abolished here." "What seeke we in this fifth petition? Remission of our sinnes or spirituall debts . . . Shall every man pray thus continually? Yes, for all flesh is subject to sinne. But sometimes men doe good things? Yet they sin in the best things they doe."

The Calvinistic liturgies naturally also reflect this universal Reformed doctrine. The Confession of sins contained in the liturgy which was published by Calvin in 1542 and which passed into the use of all the French-speaking Reformed Churches, has been universally admired. Its beauty, says E. Lacheret, has been proclaimed with one voice: Christian sentiment finds in it one of its purest and strongest expressions: "brief, sober, solemn, it expresses in a grave style and penetrating tone, the grief of the penitent soul, its appeal to the divine mercy, its desire for a new and holy life."²³ Its opening prayer in the form in

²⁰ Q. 56. We use the old Scotch translation, Edinburgh, 1615, (Bonar, as cited, p. 132).

²¹ Q. 126. (Bonar, as cited, p. 132).

²² Bonar, as cited, pp. 210, 232.

²³ *La Liturgie Wallonne*, 1890, p. 17.

which it has been long used in the English-speaking French Protestant Church of Charleston, S. C., runs thus:²⁴ "O Lord God, eternal and almighty Father, we confess before Thy Divine Majesty that we are miserable sinners,²⁵ born in corruption and iniquity,²⁶ prone to evil, and of ourselves incapable of any good.²⁸ We acknowledge that we transgress in various ways²⁹ thy holy commandments, so that we draw down on ourselves, through thy righteous judgment, condemnation and death."

The brief Catechism of the Church of England, although very plainly presuming the continuous sinning of Christians, naturally contains nothing explicit on the subject. Whatever may be lacking in it is abundantly made up, however, in the Articles and Prayers. The Articles not only affirm that "the infection of nature" derived by every man from Adam "doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated" and has in them "the nature of sin" (IX); but also that he can do no good works which can endure the severity of God's judgment (XII), and very explicitly that all men, except Christ alone, "although baptized and born again in Christ, yet offend in many things; and if we say we have no sin we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us" (XV). They are therefore to be condemned, we are told, "which say they can no more sin as long as they live here" (XVI). With respect to the Prayers we have only to bear in mind the Exhortation, General Confession and Absolution with which both the Morning and Evening Services begin; or indeed only the Litany, in which specifically God's people abase themselves before Him as "miserable sinners" and beseech His

²⁴ *The Liturgy, or Forms of Divine Service, of the French Protestant Church of Charleston, S. C.* Translated from the Liturgy of the Churches of Neuchatel and Vallangin, Editions of 1737 and 1772.... 1853, pp. 7, 8.

²⁵ *Paovres pecheurs* in Calvin's form: the form *misérables pécheurs* appears to have come in during the eighteenth century.

²⁶ "Conceived and born in iniquity and corruption,"—Calvin.

²⁸ "Prone to evil, incapable of all good,"—Calvin.

²⁹ "Without end and without cessation,"—Calvin.

forgiveness and holy keeping. The enumeration in the General Confession of the modes of sinning of which the petitioners are guilty is exceedingly comprehensive, and yet is keyed wholly to the experience of believers. In the exhortation in response to which their confession is made, they are addressed as "dearly beloved brethren," and God is designated as their "heavenly Father," from whose "infinite goodness and mercy" they are receiving and are further to look for all things requisite for the welfare of both body and soul. Yet they are represented as guilty of " manifold sins and wickedness," and are led by the minister in this Confession: "Almighty and most merciful Father: We have erred, and strayed from thy ways like lost sheep. We have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts. We have offended against thy holy laws. We have left undone those things which we ought to have done; And we have done those things which we ought not to have done; And there is no health in us." Their only refuge is in the Lord; and the cry is therefore at once appended:—"But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us, miserable offenders. Spare thou them, O God, which confess their faults, Restore thou them that are penitent; According to thy promises declared unto mankind in Christ Jesu our Lord." That is the very spirit of the "miserable sinner," as is also the closing petition of the prayer: "And grant, O most merciful Father, for His sake; That we may hereafter lead a godly, righteous, and sober life, To the glory of Thy holy Name. Amen." The note which sounds here is precisely the same as that which rings out in the Easter Litany of the Moravian Church: "We miserable sinners (*arme Sünder*) pray that Thou wouldest hear us, dear Lord and God!"³⁰

It has not always been easy through the Protestant ages to maintain in its purity this high attitude of combined shame of self and confidence in the mercy of God in Christ. But even in the worst of times it has not been left without

³⁰ Schaff, as cited, p. 805.

witnesses. There is Zinzendorf, for example.³¹ It was in an evil day of abounding Rationalism that he rediscovered for himself and for his followers a "miserable-sinner Christianity." He gave the term as recovered by him for daily use in his brotherhood a particular coloring of his own; sentimentalized it, if we may so say; and especially made it vivid by means of a very specialized analogy. The terms "sin," "sinner," are used in German, with a less prevailing religious reference than in English, in the general sense of "offence," "culprit"; and it happens to have come about that in the popular German speech the customary designation of the condemned criminal awaiting the gallows is precisely "the miserable sinner."³² The implication is that all the resources of such an one have been exhausted: he stands stripped, destitute, desperate before his doom. Seizing upon this accident of usage, Zinzendorf bids the Christian see in the condemned criminal the image of himself: in this thoroughly specialized sense also the Christian is a "miserable sinner." Not indeed the merely condemned criminal. He is in Christ, and what he is in Christ is this condemned criminal snatched from the gallows by the mere clemency of one on whom he has no claim. He is therefore distinctively the pardoned criminal; and therefore his immediate preoccupation is less with the guilt from which he has escaped than with the deliverance which he has received. "The most solid distinction between an honest disciple of the no doubt still lingering old teachers who were known as Pietists, Spenerites, Halleites and a 'Brother' is this: the former commonly has his misery always before his eyes and glances only for his necessary comforting to the wounds

³¹ Zinzendorf's doctrine of the "miserable sinner" is admirably stated by Bernard Becker, *Zinzendorf und seine Christentum*, etc. 2 ed., 1900, pp. 296-298. See also H. Scholz, *ZThK*. VI., 1896, pp. 463-468.

³² J. and W. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, I. 1854, p. 355: "The imprisoned and condemned criminal was called der arme gefangene, der arme sündler." Heath's *German and English Dictionary*, 1906, p. 582: "armer Sünder, condemned criminal awaiting execution."

of Christ,—the latter has always before his eyes the finished reconciliation and Jesus' blood and only for his necessary humbling casts an occasional glance on his misery."

Zinzendorf pushes his simile into details and insists on the application of them all. Having J. K. Dippel's rationalizing doctrine of the Atonement in mind, he declares that the deliverance of the believer from the punishment due to his sin is accomplished in no other way than that of the thief from the gallows,—not through future good behavior, but out of pure mercy. And like the thief, he owes not only his escape from the immediately impending gallows but whatever further existence is accorded to him, continuously to the mere favor of his deliverer. Thus through every moment of his life the believer is absolutely dependent on the grace of Christ, and when life is over he still has nothing to plead but Christ's blood and righteousness. Very complete expression is given to this conception in the noble hymn, "Christ's blood and righteousness," some of the pungency of which is lost in John Wesley's translation of it, excellent as that translation is in transmitting the general sense. The blood of Christ, says Zinzendorf here, is his sole comfort and hope, on which alone he builds in life or in death: yea, even though by God's grace he should attain to a life of unbroken faithfulness in His service, and should keep himself clean from all sin whatever up to the grave itself—he should still, when he came to stand before the Lord, have no thought of "goodness" and "godliness," but would say only, "Here comes a sinner who depends on the great Ransom alone." The poignancy of that declaration is inadequately expressed by Wesley's

"When from the dust of death I rise,
To claim my mansion in the skies,
Even then this shall be all my plea,
Jesus hath lived and died for me."

It must not be imagined because of its hypothetical supposition in this hymn, that Zinzendorf allowed the possibility of the believer's actually living free from sin "up to

the grave." Sanctification with him was most decisively held to be a process which reaches its end only when we are freed from the limitations of sense; and his rejection of all perfectionist notions is so decisive as almost to seem harsh. "Should any one say," he says, "he was in *sensu perfectissimo* done with sin, and had *hoc respectu* no longer to strive, he would be a fanatic or arrogant fool."³³ He is particularly decisive in his rejection of the Quietistic view of sanctification. That, says he, carries with it an ideal of the Christian life, with its passivity, apathy, freedom from trepidation, which can find no example in Christ. No, the believer strives against sin all his life, and is never without failings; and from his well-grounded fear of sinning arises a powerful, ever present motive to watchfulness and effort. He has nothing to depend on but Christ, and Christ is enough; but that does not relieve him from the duty of cleansing his life from sin, but rather girds his loins for the struggle. The necessity for the continuance of the struggle means, of course, the continuance of sin to struggle against. As one of Zinzendorf's critics puts it:³⁴ "To feel himself a 'miserable sinner' never has the meaning with him of desisting from the moral task or of attributing less value to it than to religious experience. On the other side it is equally excluded that this doctrine amounts to a new form of self-torturing after a pietistic fashion. For it is precisely against the self-torturing of that narrow-hearted, unfruitful practice of penitence,³⁵ rich in illusions and dis-illusions, of the dominant pietism, that Zinzendorf's system is emphatically directed. It is not his meaning that a Christian man should be of a sour countenance, and hang

³³ Becker, as cited, p. 300, where Zinzendorf's judgment on Perfectionism is briefly but clearly stated.

³⁴ Scholz, *ZThK*. VI., 1896, p. 465.

³⁵ *Busskampfpraxis*. What is meant is the tendency to treat the self in accordance with the divine judgment which is recognized as impending over it. There is a really informing article on the *Busskampf*, in C. Meusel's *Kirchliches Handlexikon* I, 1887, pp. 618f. See also Schiele and Zscharnack I, col. 1486.

his head; he hates the dejected and grumbling piety which comes to nothing except the repetition of its dirges. He requires and exemplifies a joyous Christianity." "Miserable-sinner Christianity" is equally removed from self-asserting and self-tormenting Christianity, which is as much as to say from Rationalism and Pietism. It is Christ-trusting Christianity, and casts its orbit around that centre. And when we say Christ-trusting Christianity, it must be intended not merely negatively but positively. The "miserable-sinner Christian" not merely finds absolutely nothing but Christ in which to repose any trust, but he actually trusts—*trusts*, with all that that means—in Christ.

In those same bad days of the eighteenth century, "miserable-sinner Christianity" was rediscovered also for themselves by the English Evangelicals. We may take Thomas Adam as an example. His like-minded biographer, James Stillingfleet, tells us³⁰ how, having been awakened to the fact that he was preaching essentially a work-religion, he was at last led to the truth, not without some reading of Luther, it is true, but particularly by the prayerful study of the Epistle to the Romans. "He was," writes his biographer, "rejoiced exceedingly; found peace and comfort spring up in his mind; his conscience was purged from guilt through the atoning blood of Christ, and his heart set at liberty to run the way of God's commandments without fear, in a spirit of filial love and holy delight; and from that hour began to preach salvation, *through faith in Jesus Christ alone*, to man by nature and practice lost, and condemned under the law, and, as his own expression is, *Always a sinner*." In this italicized phrase, Adam had in mind of course our sinful nature, a very profound sense of the evil of which coloured all his thought. In one of those piercing declarations which his biographers gathered out of his diaries and published under the title of *Private Thoughts*

³⁰ *Private Thoughts on Religion*. By the Rev. Thomas Adam. Ed. Poughkeepsie, 1814, pp. 22f. There are many other editions.

on *Religion*,³⁷ Adam tells us how he thought of indwelling sin. "Sin," says he, "is still here, deep in the center of my heart, and twisted about every fibre of it."³⁸ But he knew very well that sin could not be in the heart and not in the life. "When have I not sinned?" he asks;³⁹ and answers, "The reason is evident, I carry myself about with me." Accordingly he says:⁴⁰ "When we have done all we ever shall do, the very best state we ever shall arrive at will be so far from meriting a reward that it will need a pardon." Again, "If I was to live to the world's end, and do all the good that man can do, I must still cry 'Mercy!'"⁴¹—which is very much what Zinzendorf said in his hymn. So far from balking at the confession of daily sins, he adds to that the confession of universal sinning. "I know with infallible certainty," he says,⁴² "that I have sinned ever since I could discern between good and evil; in thought, word and deed; in every period, condition, and relation of life; every day against every commandment." "God may say to every self-righteous man," he says again,⁴³ "as he did in the case of

³⁷ "These entries from his private diary, which were meant for no eyes but his own, bring before us a man of no common power of analytical and speculative thought. With an intrepidity and integrity of self-scrutiny perhaps unexampled, he writes down problems started and questionings raised, and conflicts gone through; while his ordinarily placid style grows pungent and strong. Ever since their publication these 'private thoughts' have exercised a strange fascination over intellects at opposite poles. Coleridge's copy of the little volume (1795) remains to attest by its abounding markings, the spell it laid upon him, while such men as Bishop Heber, Dr. Thomas Chalmers, and John Stuart Mill, and others, have paid tribute to the searching power of the 'Thoughts.'" A. B. Grosart, in Leslie Stephen's *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. I., 1885, pp. 89, 90.

³⁸ *Private Thoughts on Religion, etc.*, as cited, p. 72.

³⁹ P. 74.

⁴⁰ P. 218.

⁴¹ P. 212.

⁴² P. 71.

⁴³ P. 129. In the same spirit with these quotations, but with perhaps even greater poignancy of rhetorical expression is this declaration of Alexander Whyte's (*Bunyan's Characters*, III, p. 136): "Our guilt is so great that we dare not think of it. It crushes our minds with a perfect stupor of horror, when for a moment we try to imagine a day of judgment when we shall be judged for all

Sodom, 'Show me ten, even one, perfect good action, and for the sake of it I will not destroy.' "

There is no morbidity here and no easy acquiescence in this inevitable sinning. "Lord, forgive my sins, and suffer me to keep them—is this the meaning of my prayers?" he asks.⁴⁴ And his answer is:⁴⁵ "I had rather be cast into the burning fiery furnace, or the lions' den, than suffer sin to lie quietly in my heart." He knows that justification and sanctification belong together. "Christ never comes into the soul unattended," he says:⁴⁶ "He brings the Holy Spirit with Him; and the Spirit his train of gifts and graces." "Christ comes with a blessing in each hand," he says again;⁴⁷ "forgiveness in one and holiness in the other, and never gives either to any one who will not take both." But he adds at once: "Christ's forgiveness of all sins is complete at once, because less would not do us good; his holiness is dispensed by degrees, and to none wholly in this life, lest we should slight his forgiveness." "Whenever I die," he says therefore,⁴⁸ "I die a sinner, but by the grace of God, penitent, and, I trust, accepted in the Beloved." "It is the joy of my heart that I am freed from guilt," he says again,⁴⁹ "and the desire of my heart to be free from sin." For both alike are from God. "Justification by sanctification," he says,⁵⁰ "is man's way to heaven, and it is odds but he will make a little serve the turn. Sanctification by justification is God's, and he fills the soul with His own fulness." "The Spirit does not only confer and increase ability and so leave us to ourselves in the use of it," he ex-
the deeds done in the body. Heart-beat after heart-beat, breath after breath, hour after hour, day after day, year after year, and all full of sin; all nothing but sin from our mother's womb to our grave."

⁴⁴ P. 103.

⁴⁵ P. 99.

⁴⁶ P. 180.

⁴⁷ P. 179.

⁴⁸ P. 209.

⁴⁹ P. 216.

⁵⁰ P. 219.

plains,⁵¹ "but every single act of spiritual life is the Spirit's own act in us." And again, even more plainly:⁵² "Sanctification is a gift; and the business of man is to desire, receive and use it. But he can by no act or effort of his own produce it in himself. Grace can do everything, nature nothing." "I am resolved," he therefore declares,⁵³ "to receive my virtue from God as a gift; instead of presenting Him with a spurious kind of my own." He accordingly is "the greatest saint upon earth who feels his poverty most in the want of perfect holiness, and longs with the greatest earnestness for the time when he shall be put in full possession of it."⁵⁴

Thus in complete dependence on grace, and in never ceasing need of grace (take "grace" in its full sense of goodness to the undeserving) the saint goes onward in his earthly work, neither imagining that he does not need to be without sin because he has Christ nor that because he has Christ he is already without sin. The repudiation of both the perfectionist and the antinomian inference is made by Adam most pungently. The former in these crisp words:⁵⁵ "The moment we think that we have no sin, we shall desert Christ." That, because Christ came to save just sinners. The latter more at length:⁵⁶ "It would be a great abuse of the doctrine of salvation by faith and a state of dangerous security to say, If it pleases God to advance me to a higher or the highest degree of holiness, I shall have great cause of thankfulness, and it will be the very joy of my life; but nevertheless I can do without it, as being safe in Christ." We cannot set safety in Christ and holiness of life over against one another as contradictions, of which the one may be taken and the other left. They go together.

⁵¹ P. 242.

⁵² P. 234.

⁵³ P. 247.

⁵⁴ P. 225.

⁵⁵ P. 251.

⁵⁶ P. 223.

"Every other faith," we read,⁵⁷ "but that which apprehends Christ as a purifier, as well as our atonement and righteousness, is false and hypocritical." We are not left in our sins by Him; we are in process of being cleansed from our sins by Him; and our part is to work out with fear and trembling the salvation which He is working in us, always keeping our eyes on both our sin from which we need deliverance and the Lord who is delivering us. To keep our eyes fixed on both at once is no doubt difficult. "On earth it is the great exercise of faith," says Adam, "and one of the hardest things in the world, to see sin and Christ at the same time, or to be penetrated with a lively sense of our deserts, and absolute freedom from condemnation; but the more we know of both, the nearer approach we shall make to the state of heaven." Sin and Christ; ill desert and no condemnation; we are sinners and saints all at once! That is the paradox of evangelicalism. The Antinomian and the Perfectionist would abolish the paradox—the one drowning the saint in the sinner, the other concealing the sinner in the saint. We must, says Adam, out of his evangelical consciousness, ever see both members of the paradox clearly and see them whole. And—*solvitur ambulando*. "It is a great paradox, but glorious truth of Christianity," says he,⁵⁸ "that a good conscience may consist with a consciousness of evil." Though we can have no satisfaction in ourselves, we may have perfect satisfaction in Christ.

It is clear that "miserable-sinner Christianity" is a Christianity which thinks of pardon as holding the primary place in salvation. To it, sin is in the first instance offence against God, and salvation from sin is therefore in the first instance pardon, first not merely in time but in importance. In this Christianity, accordingly, the sinner turns to God first of all as the pardoning God; and that not as the God who pardons him once and then leaves him to himself, but as the

⁵⁷ P. 220.

⁵⁸ P. 225.

⁵⁹ P. 253.

God who steadily preserves the attitude toward him of a pardoning God. It is in this aspect that he thinks primarily of God and it is on the preservation on God's part of this attitude towards him that all his hopes of salvation depend. This is because he looks to God and to God alone for his salvation; and that in every several step of salvation,—since otherwise whatever else it might be, it would not be salvation. It is, of course, only from a God whose attitude to the sinner is that of a pardoning God, that saving operations can be hoped. No doubt, if those transactions which we class together as the processes of salvation are our own work, we may not have so extreme a need of a constantly pardoning God. But that is not the point of view of the "miserable-sinner Christian." He understands that God alone can save, and he depends on God alone for salvation; for all of salvation in every step and stage of it. He is not merely the man then, who emphasizes justification as the fundamental saving operation; but also the man who emphasizes the supernaturalness of the whole saving process. It is all of God; and it is continuously from God throughout the whole process. The "miserable-sinner Christian" insists thus that salvation is accomplished not all at once, but in all the processes of a growth through an ever-advancing forward movement. It occupies time; it has a beginning and middle and end. And just because it is thus progressive in its accomplishment, it is always incomplete,—until the end. As Luther put it, Christians, here below, are not "made," but "in the making." Things in the making are in the hands of the Maker, are absolutely dependent on Him, and in their remanent imperfection require His continued pardon as well as need His continued forming. We cannot outgrow dependence on the pardoning grace of God, then, so long as the whole process of our forming is not completed; and we cannot feel satisfaction with ourselves of course until that process is fully accomplished. To speak of satisfaction in an incomplete work is a contradiction in terms. The "miserable-sinner Christian" accordingly, just as

strongly emphasizes the progressiveness of the saving process and the consequent survival of sin and sinning throughout the whole of its as yet unfinished course, as he does justification as its foundation stone and its true supernaturalness throughout. These four articles go together and form the pillars on which the whole structure rests. It is a structure which is adapted to the needs of none but sinners, and which, perhaps, can have no very clear meaning to any but sinners. And this is in reality the sum of the whole matter: "miserable-sinner" Christianity is a Christianity distinctively for sinners. It is fitted to their apprehension as sinners, addressed to their acceptance as sinners, and meets their clamant needs as sinners. The very name which has been given it bears witness to it as such.

Naturally, therefore, to those who are not preoccupied with a sense of their sinfulness, "miserable-sinner Christianity" makes very little appeal. It would indeed be truer to say that it excites in them a positive distaste. It does not seem to them to have any particular fitness for their case, which they very naturally identify with the case of men in general. It appears to them to foster a morbid preoccupation with faults which are in part at least only fancied. It does scant justice, as they think, to the dignity of human nature, with its ethical endowments and capacities for self-improvement. It presents, as they view it, insufficient and ineffective motives for moral effort, and tends therefore to produce weak and dependent characters prone to acquiesce in an imperfect development, merely because they lack the vigor to go forward. Men turn away from it in proportion as they are inclined to put a high estimate on human nature as it manifests itself in the world, and especially upon its moral condition, its moral powers, its present and possible moral achievements. It is a gospel for sinners, and those who do not think of themselves as sinners find no attraction in it. It has accordingly been in every age the shining mark of attack for men of what we commonly speak of as the Rationalistic temper. It should

not surprise us, therefore, that in our own age also it should have been made an object of assault by representatives of this general tendency of thought. And it is very natural that it was that arch-Rationalist, Albrecht Ritschl, who, a half century ago, drew it afresh into burning controversy.

On the basis of his Rationalistic construction of Christianity, Ritschl developed a doctrine of "Christian Perfection," in which Christians are represented as working out religious and moral perfection for themselves, by the sheer strength of their own right arm, without any help whatever from God. He developed this doctrine in express antagonism to the Reformation conception of "the miserable sinner," and he did not fail to stud his exposition of it with scornful references to that conception. It was, however, when writing-in a biblical basis for his doctrine, in the closing pages of the exegetical volume of his great work on *Justification and Reconciliation*,⁶⁰ that his polemic reached its climax. His leading purpose here is to deprive the Reformation doctrine of the support of Paul, to which it makes its chief appeal. In the teaching of the Reformers, he says, Christians are led to keep alive a sense of dissatisfaction with themselves, in order that they may the more constantly and earnestly look to Christ, and the more utterly rest on His righteousness. Paul, on the contrary, does nothing of the kind. He presents Paul's teaching both in its negative and in its positive aspect. Negatively, says he, Paul knows nothing of any provision for the forgiveness of Christians' sins; positively, he not only exhibits a very healthful satisfaction with his own moral condition, but betrays no tendency to think less well of other Christians than of himself. He did not keep his own sins constantly in mind—if he had any; and he does not teach his converts to keep their sins in mind—though his letters show us that he knew perfectly well that they had a good many. And he never connects the sins of Christians with their

⁶⁰ *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*. Vol. II., Ed. 1, p. 187; Ed. 3, 1889, § 39ff. pp. 365ff.

justification, after the manner of the Reformers; indeed he had never reflected on the relation of the justification they had received to their subsequent sins. The justification was there; the sins were there—whenever they were there: Paul never in his thought brought the two into connection. Still less was he of a sad countenance because of these sins—whether his own or others'; on the contrary, possessed of a consciousness of well-doing in his work, not unbroken sorrow for his sins—of which he betrays not a trace—but satisfaction with his condition as a Christian and with his work as an apostle, is his mood. And Ritschl does not fail to generalize from Paul's case, declaring that every man may and ought to have like Paul the consciousness of good work done,—not precisely of a multiplicity of good works, but of a connected life-work that is good; and having that, he may account himself, in the Pauline sense, perfect. This work must of course be proved to be approved; but it may be proved and approved, and form a valid ground of complete satisfaction with ourselves. Satisfaction with our Christian attainments, not constant penitence for our sins—that is the Pauline conception of the Christian life.

As an account of Paul's attitude toward the sins of Christians, this leaves much to be desired. It makes the impression that he is represented as being indifferent to them, although that accords very ill with the contents of his letters. It scarcely adequately represents the preoccupation of these letters with the sins of his converts and their strenuous dealing with them, to say simply that Paul "was of course acquainted with the fact" of the imperfection of his converts.⁶¹ He certainly does not treat the sins of his converts as negligible things. But if we ask, how it is possible that with these sins abounding about him and engaging his unceasing care, he should never have reflected on the relation of his great message of justification by faith to them, and indeed never suggests any relief for them whatever, we

⁶¹ As cited, pp. 365.

obtain no answer from Ritschl. There is, to be sure, a remark dropped⁶²—in accordance with one of Ritschl's own doctrinal notions—to the effect that Paul kept "the two points of view, of justification by faith and the bestowment of the divine Spirit on believers, unconfused." But even if this could be pressed into a suggestion that Paul expected the sins of Christians to be eradicated by the Holy Spirit, their guilt would still be left unprovided for: and Paul would not be expected to, and does not, speak of them as if he were indifferent to their guilt. Perhaps there is a veiled hint that Christians are to expiate these sins in their own persons at the judgment day. But if so it is not worked out. We are left to the unresolved contradiction that Paul whose message revolved around the deliverance of believers from their sins, yet looked upon the sins still committed by them as negligible.

And what shall we say of Paul's alleged satisfaction with himself? Of course passages like Rom. vii. 14ff, Gal. v: 17 in which he probes the human heart, and even uncovers his own soul for us, are set aside. Even when that is done, however, we are far from a Paul who is satisfied with his attainments and indifferent to his short-comings; though we do have a Paul who rejoices in his salvation. It is the indifference to sin, considered as guilt, inherent in Ritschl's system of teaching, not Paul's, which is really made the basis of judgment. Ritschl wishes to make Paul say in effect that Christians may neglect their sins: it is not their sins but their salvation with which they should be concerned. But Paul will not say that. The most that Ritschl can venture to maintain, with the utmost wrenching of the text, is that Paul does not direct his converts to any remedy for their continued sinning; and that from this we may infer that he did not think it required any remedy—despite his multiplied rebukes of their sins and agonizing warnings against them! And even this he cannot assert of John. John, he allows, does provide a remedy

⁶² P. 370.

for the sins of Christians, a remedy that directs us to the faithfulness and righteousness of God, the cleansing effect of the sacrificing Christ, the intercession of Christ.⁶³ John alone, therefore, says Ritschl, occupies the standpoint of the Reformers on this matter.⁶⁴ Not quite even John; for though the hard facts of experience had compelled John to modify the optimistic judgment which Paul held concerning Christians, he remained, we are told, essentially of the optimistic party, and could by no means descend to the depths of the Reformers. "John also is far removed from the pessimism with which Luther emphasized the perpetual imperfection and worthlessness (*Werthlosigkeit*) of the moral activity of Christians. Sinning is for him still always the exception in the Christian life, not the rule and an inevitable fate."⁶⁵

Ritschl's book was published in 1874. But the seed sown in it did not come to its fruitage for a quarter of a century. His representation of the attitude of the New Testament writers to the sins of Christians, did not fail of an immediate echo, of course, here and there. And it was no doubt silently moulding opinion in like-minded circles. It was not until the later half of the last decade of the century, however, that wide interest was manifested in it. An essay or two appeared on the subject in 1896, and then, in 1897, attention was sharply attracted by an extended discussion of it in a book of unusual vigor both of thought and language written by a young man of twenty-five, just out of the University, Paul Wernle. Wernle came forward as an enthusiastic but independent pupil of Ritschl's. "So far as I see," he says:⁶⁶ "Ritschl is the sole theologian who as yet has seriously interested himself in the question of how sin in the life of Christians was thought of and dealt with by the Apostles." The time had come,

⁶³ P. 273.

⁶⁴ P. 372.

⁶⁶ P. 378.

⁶⁶ *Der Christ und die Sünde bei Paulus*, 1897, Preface.

he thought, to go into the matter more thoroughly than Ritschl had been able to do. He devotes to it, therefore, this, his maiden book, in which he endeavors not merely to ground Ritschl's conclusions, but also to give them sharper and more complete expression. The view that he asserts (no other term will meet the case) is that with Paul—it is with Paul alone that the book concerns itself—the Christian is as such altogether done with sins, and is a sinless man, who will appear as such in the rapidly approaching judgment day;⁶⁷ and that the Reformation has so far departed from Pauline Christianity that it has transformed it from a religion of sinlessness into a religion of sinning.⁶⁸

In attaching himself thus closely to Ritschl, and carrying out the suggestions made by Ritschl to their logical conclusions, Wernle perhaps somewhat neglects his chronologically closer predecessors. E. Grafe mildly rebukes him for this.⁶⁹ "The ideas brought forward here and acutely grounded," he says, "are, in great part, not altogether new, not so unheard of as the author appears to suppose. He himself recognizes with lively gratitude that A. Ritschl was the first to point energetically to the question under consideration. But other theologians also have already raised it, such as, for example, Schmiedel, Scholz, Karl, Holtzmann." Wernle was not, however, unaware of the exist-

⁶⁷ As cited, p. 126. A certain ambiguity attaches to the word "sinless." Even Wernle does not quite venture to assert that Paul supposes himself to be free from a sinful nature; but only from sinful acts. Commenting on Gal. ii. 20, he says he does not fully understand it (p. 19), and then proceeds to say that we cannot on its ground attribute to Paul "a consciousness of sinlessness." He is speaking here of the inner nature, not of external acts, and therefore at once explains his meaning to be that "the feeling of perfection which filled Paul in so high a manner has yet its limitations in the reality of the 'flesh,' and the delay of the 'consummation,' that is, of 'the world to come.'" Jacobi (as subsequently cited, p. 324) appears to have misunderstood him here, to be speaking of the perfection of act,—which Wernle does attribute to Paul.

⁶⁸ As cited, p. 124.

⁶⁹ *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1897, 19, col. 517.

ence of these closer predecessors. He even mentions them.⁷⁰ He writes, however, clearly, in independence of them, and those of them of any large significance in the development of the controversy antedated the publication of his book by so short an interval, that it is quite possible that it was well advanced to its completion before they became accessible to him. Two of them are of sufficient importance, nevertheless, to require that we shall give some account of them before proceeding to look into Wernle's own book. We refer to W. A. Karl and H. Scholz.

W. A. Karl⁷¹ stands so far outside of the most direct line of development of the controversy that he does not derive immediately from Ritschl, and does not make it his primary object to validate Ritschl's condemnatory judgment upon the Reformation doctrine of "the miserable sinner," although he will permit as little standing-ground in the New Testament for this doctrine as Ritschl himself. Though he has thus climbed up some other way, however, he nevertheless takes his position at the head of the subsequent development, in so far as he was the first to proclaim Paul "the great idealist," who, in his incurable doctrinairism, asserted the completed sinlessness of Christians in the face of all experience.⁷² His first object in his chief work—which he describes in the very military language of "obtaining the mastery of the Pauline soteriology from a new point of attack"—he tells us is to reach a unitary conception of Paul; and he seeks this, according to

⁷⁰ Scholz, at pp. 11, 19, 3; Karl, at p. 86; Holtzmann at pp. 2, 21, 61, 87. Schmiedel's "Glaube und Dogma beim Apostel Paulus" (*Theolog. Zeitschrift aus der Schweiz*, 1893, pp. 211-230), which seems likely to be the work referred to by Grafe, does not appear to be cited by Wernle; but he cites Schmiedel's commentary on the Epistles to the Corinthians (pp. 48, 71). He cannot be reproached with lack of attention to "the most recent literature."

⁷¹ *Beiträge zum Verständnis der soteriologischen Erfahrungen und Spekulationen des Apostel Paulus*, 1896; also, *Johanneische Studien: I. Der Erste Johannisbrief*, 1898.

⁷² Cf. H. J. Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Theologie*, ed. 2. 1911, II. p. 166, note 3.

Wernle,⁷³ who does not believe that Paul can be unified, "by identifying a series of heterogeneous ideas with one another." "We can learn from this," adds Wernle, "how Paul must probably have begun had he sought after a unitary system—nothing more." This is far higher praise than we ourselves could give to Karl, who seems to us busied with imposing a system of teaching on Paul of which Paul could never have dreamed. In his work on John he proceeds to impose the system which he had already imposed on Paul, on I John also, with the object of showing that the same body of religious conceptions are present in a wider circle than that into which we enter in Paul's letters.

The chief elements of this early Christian conception-world are the idea of a real indwelling of Christ, that is, of the Pneuma (in John also of God)⁷⁴—for the expression of which the preposition "in" forms a short formula—along with the fixed conviction that this indwelling produces in us ethical perfection as well as recognition of the Messiahship of Jesus and also "parrhesistic ecstasy"; and not only guarantees but is identical with eternal life.⁷⁵ What in this view New Testament Christianity consists in is just a mystical transformation, referred as its cause to the indwelling of the Pneuma-Christos, and manifesting itself in a new faith, belief in the messiahship of Jesus; a new conduct, ethical perfection; and ecstatic phenomena. On all three of these characteristic manifestations of Christianity, Karl lays the greatest stress. Our concernment is, however, only with the central one. The ethical perfection affirmed in it is asserted in its fulness. What John teaches, we are told, is that "all Christians are entirely sinless and therefore pure and righteous as Christ Himself, that is, perfect in love."⁷⁶ This perfection is expounded both in its rela-

⁷³ *Der Christ and die Sünde bei Paulus*, etc., p. 86.

⁷⁴ What is new in I John (over against Paul) is the indwelling of God as well as of Christ or the Pneuma (*Johanneische Studien*, p. IV). But this indwelling of God is not an independent indwelling but is through that of Christ. (p. 99).

⁷⁵ *Johanneische Studien*, p. III.

⁷⁶ *Johanneische Studien*, p. 103.

tion to forgiveness of which it proves to be the condition, and in its relation to the indwelling of the Pneuma-Christ of which it is represented as the immediate and necessary effect. The whole matter is summed up in a single sentence thus:⁷⁷ "If the Pneuma-Christ dwells in me, I am ethically renewed and thus 'righteous' in God's eyes." This "ethical renewal" which is conceived as instantaneous and complete, is the ground of our acceptance as righteous. "We can say briefly," says Karl,⁷⁸ "that the word 'righteousness' designates the ethical renewal according to its religious value, according to the value which it has before God." Or more crisply still,⁷⁹ "The 'righteousness of God' is ethical perfection."

He deals with the matter both from the objective and the subjective point of sight. "The forgiveness of sins is accomplished," says he,⁸⁰ "with renewal of the whole man. How would God forgive me and leave me still in my sinful misery? How can I pardon my enemy and hold him incarcerated in his prison? Herein I perceive forgiveness, herein it manifests itself, completes itself, consists—that God sends me the Spirit, renews me ethically. Our life of salvation forms a unity like all that makes claim to the word life. It consists not first in forgiveness, then in a subsequent renewal; but in the renewal, I experience also the forgiveness, and the result is full reconciliation with God." Elsewhere,⁸¹ having declared roundly that "we feel that our previously committed sins are forgiven only as we are renewed," he illustrates the deliverance by urging that no thief will believe his thefts are forgiven so long as he continues to steal: he must stop stealing before he can have a sense of forgiveness. No doubt men, both Protestants and Catholics, pretend that it is otherwise, and imagine themselves to enjoy forgiveness while they go on sinning. But this imagi-

⁷⁷ *Beiträge*, p. 48.

⁷⁸ *Beiträge*, p. 30.

⁷⁹ P. 59.

⁸⁰ P. 71.

⁸¹ P. 51.

nary forgiveness,—forgiveness to-day, to-morrow new sins—is frankly imaginary, and we all know it. “Therefore,⁸² it will not do to say, First pardon, then ethical renewal; first the feeling of the forgiveness of sins, then the purpose of renewal.” That is not what Paul says, and it is fundamentally wrong, as is very easily seen. For we cannot have forgiveness without repentance; and we cannot repent without experiencing sin as sin; and we cannot experience sin as sin without having in ourselves its contradictory with which to contrast it,—the ethical ideal. This is apparently supposed to be equivalent to saying that we must be good before we can be forgiven. On the next page⁸³ the sorites is thrown into this form: “This, then, is our meaning: Only he can receive forgiveness of sins, who is in a condition to be sensible of their forgiveness. Only he is sensible of it who knows his sin. Only he knows it who is in grace. Therefore it is not right to say, First forgiveness of sins, then renewal; for there is no forgiveness without renewal.” These statements will not be apprehended in their full meaning unless it is understood that the “renewal” spoken of is complete renewal, “ethical perfection,” and that the “forgiveness” spoken of is not supposed to accompany but to follow on it; forgiveness is received only after we are perfect. The process is accurately outlined as follows:⁸⁴ “Through the indwelling of Christ we are ethically renewed, and we become an ethical new creation. We fulfill the commandments of God. Naturally we enter then into a new relation with Him. First, His judgment on us, then naturally His treatment of us, is changed. He esteemed and treated us before as sinners, because that is what we were; He judges and treats us now as ‘righteous’ because we are now become righteous before Him, that is, we are what He wants us to be.”

The central Reformation doctrine is here replaced by

⁸² P. 52.

⁸³ P. 53.

⁸⁴ P. 30.

its contradictory, and according to this teaching we should not receive forgiveness until we become glorified saints. Paul escapes this result in Karl's exposition of him by representing Christians as becoming ethically perfect immediately on their baptism, and therefore recipients of forgiveness from the inception of their Christian life. "The Apostle," says he,⁸⁵ "presupposes and does not doubt that through baptism Christ dwells in Christians. All who are baptized are 'in Christ.' *Thence* comes their sinlessness . . . A Christian can therefore never sin again." "This indwelling of the Pneuma-Christos, however," he says again,⁸⁶ "means for us a complete ethical new-creation. 'If any one is in Christ, he is a new creature; old things have passed away, behold all has become new' (2 Cor. 5.17). It cannot be otherwise than that this renewal is a complete one. For Christ, as a unitary (*geschlossen*) personality, cannot dwell in us as something only partial. A personality, a unity, suffers no division. Either we have Him wholly or not at all. If we have Him dwelling in us completely, however, there dwells in us also His moral personality. He shares with us a kind of moral infallibility. A Christian can no longer sin."

On this view all progress in Christian living is excluded; the Christian on baptism is all that he will ever be, at once. "The ethical gifts," says Karl,⁸⁷ "are not given in part, or in advancing development, but completely." Taking the matter more broadly, he undertakes to show,⁸⁸ that no passages exist in Paul which suggest a development. "If Christ dwells in us at all," he says,⁸⁹ pressing his *a priori* argument, since He is an indivisible person, "he must be present in us without remainder." The charismata, being wrought by the spirits, may indeed show themselves in different degrees, and if the moralization of Christians had

⁸⁵ P. 96f.

⁸⁶ P. 14f.

⁸⁷ P. 24.

⁸⁸ P. 17.

⁸⁹ P. 17ff.

similarly been committed to the spirits, it too might be progressive. But Paul denies the possibility of ethical development, precisely because it is the product of the indwelling Christ Himself—that it is “once for all settled by the once for all indwelling of the *Pneuma-Christos*—to which then the idea runs parallel that the ethical renewal, because necessary to salvation, must be always present in perfection.”⁹⁰ For the *Parousia* hangs always trembling on the horizon, and the Christian must be always ready.

It is a sufficiently bizarre body of teaching which Karl attributes thus to Paul. And it stands in open contradiction to facts with which, as we all know, Paul was in the most observant contact. This does not deter Karl from attributing it to him. “We must of course ask,” he says,⁹¹ “whether these declarations”—the declarations concerning the sinlessness of Christians—“accord with the facts. We should think that, among the Christians of whom he could not deny that they had the Spirit, Paul would have made the experience that not all is gold that glitters, that even in Christians a notable remainder of actual sinning continued. The Corinthians, for example, might have opened his eyes in this matter. How did he adjust himself to the facts of open wickedness which he encountered? Paul never comprehended these facts. They were to him the riddle of all riddles. He stood before them with the toneless, ‘Know ye not?’ . . . These are desperate passages, these numerous ‘Or are ye ignorant?’ or ‘Know ye not?’ sections. In them the complete perplexity of this great idealist comes to expression . . . It is precisely when he jolts against sins, that he argues that such sins are impossible to Christians. He reasons away theoretically what stands before his eyes as facts.” That is to say, that is what must be attributed to Paul on Karl’s theory of his teaching. Let us hear him, however, again:⁹² “We have seen that Paul’s

⁹⁰ Pp. 26f.

⁹¹ P. 16.

⁹² P. 50.

theory does not agree with the facts. It exists merely as a particular notion of the metaphysical nature and mode of existence of the Risen One, and the nature of His indwelling. This idea cannot, however, be harmonized with the facts. That the indwelling of Christ on the ethical side does not coincide with ecstasy, that one can in other words be a good ecstatic and a very bad Christian,—this fact Paul did not banish out of the world by denying it theoretically. Paul may possibly have been religiously, ethically, psychologically and physically of such a predisposition that the glory of the Lord expanded in him all at once like the flaring up of a great light (he himself uses this figure in 2 Cor. iv. 6); it was not so with other men and it will not be so. In his splendid enthusiasm, unselfishness and devotion to the saving of souls, the Apostle makes on us, to be sure, the impression that the full moral greatness of Jesus had taken up its dwelling in him, so that Paul might have justly declared to his opponents that he *could* no longer do an unworthy act, because it was Christ who moved him; just as a great musical genius may assert of himself with our approval that is impossible for him to write a single false harmony. But it was a mistake in Paul to assume the same ethical completeness in every Christian ecstatic. We are not bound by the mistake, because we no longer accept his metaphysical principles. Paul could not reason otherwise, because according to his assumption Christ dwells in us either altogether or not at all. We think more spiritually now of the Risen One than Paul did, and of His indwelling more as psychologically mediated. And so it is possible for us to speak of a progress in Christ's indwelling."

The circle of conceptions attributed by Karl to Paul stand in no more staring contradiction with the facts of life not merely open to Paul's observation and thrust violently on his attention, but copiously remarked upon in every one of his letters, than they do with his most explicit and most elaborated teaching. It would serve no good purpose to ex-

hibit this in detail. It is obvious to every reader of Paul's letters. And it is enough here simply to point to the two formative conceptions from which this whole system of teaching attributed to Paul derives, and each of which stands in diametrical contradiction to his most fundamental convictions. It is a desperate undertaking to attempt to interpret Paul as basing forgiveness on acquired character, that is, on works. It is precisely to the destruction of that notion in all of its forms that a large part of his life-work was devoted. It is equally unwarranted to attribute to him the idea that renewal is instantaneously complete. That too he explicitly negatives too often for citation. It is not Paul's but Karl's reasoning that to have Christ at all we must have the whole Christ—which is true enough—and that having the whole Christ is already for Him so fully to have assimilated our nature to Himself that there remains no further development possible—which is so far from true that it is absurd. On these two principles hang the entire system of teaching ascribed to Paul. There is no need to say anything further.

The main purpose of Hermann Scholz, in his winningly written essay *On the Doctrine of the "Miserable Sinner,"*^{92a} is to justify Ritschl's representation of the essential difference between the attitudes of Paul and the Reformers towards the actual Christian life. The Reformers, says Ritschl in effect, and Scholz after him, concentrate all their attention on the necessary sinning of Christians, and thus give to the Christian life the aspect of defeat and consequent endless penitence, and to Christians themselves the character of merely perpetual petitioners for pardon. Paul, on the other hand, say they, looks out rather on the constant conquest of sin by Christians, and sees the Christian life as an arena of high ethical exertions and ever increasing ethical advance; while Christians are to him therefore distinctively the morally strong. If the antithesis were as here stated, *cadit quaestio*: the Reformers have

^{92a} *ZThK*. 1896, VI. pp. 463-491.

no case. But they have been deprived of their case by the removal from the statement of their position and of that of Paul alike, of all that each has in common with what is ascribed to the other. Thus an artificial antagonism has been produced, and, if you restore to each what has been omitted, the two melt into one another. The most that can be even plausibly contended is that the emphasis may be thrown by each of them on different elements in the general conception of the Christian life insisted on by both: the Reformers emphasizing rather the constant penitence which belongs to Christians, Paul the constant ethical advance which is achieved by them. Scholz knows this perfectly well; and accordingly, when he comes to contrast the two, with actual appeal to the records, finds some difficulty in making out clearly the contrast between them to which he is committed.

The essay opens with an account of the doctrine of "the miserable sinner" drawn largely from Zinzendorf.⁹³ The definition put in the forefront ^{93a} very fairly describes it. "The idea of 'the miserable sinner' has from of old been in ecclesiastical use in order to declare the abiding imperfection of the Christian life and the impossibility of our delivering ourselves." There is nothing apparent in that, of slackness in moral effort or depression of spirits; only, what one would think a natural and necessary recognition of constant dependence on God and his grace. And Scholz is compelled to admit that in the case at least of Zinzendorf, who is used by him as its chief exemplar, the doctrine did not either inhibit ethical activity or cloud the natural joy of the Christian heart.⁹⁴ Nevertheless he deprecates the mood which it fosters. It takes all the pleasure out of our work, he says. It destroys the spur to effort. It substitutes a habit of looking for forgiveness for our actions—and ex-

⁹³ Scholz had himself come out of Moravian circles and it was no doubt natural to him to turn first to Zinzendorf.

^{93a} P. 463.

⁹⁴ P. 465.

pecting it as a matter of course—for the better habit of anticipating ethical results from them. Who will keep the ideal before his eyes if he knows it to be unattainable and that meanwhile it is enough that he confesses himself a “miserable sinner”?⁹⁵ Obviously Scholz has passed here beyond both his definition and his example; he is blackening the conception of “the miserable sinner” by ascribing to it traits not derivable from either.

This is even more clear, when, a little later, repudiating the doctrine in the name of Paul, he brings against it his most summarily expressed arraignment.⁹⁶ “Accordingly the doctrine of ‘the miserable-sinner’ applied to the active moral life, whether as object of daily forgiveness, or as occasion for mistrust or indifference towards advance in sanctification, has no support in Paul. Of course Paul derives his Christian state exclusively from the good-pleasure of God—He is never weary of emphasizing that in all the relations of our lives we are dependent on God’s grace. . . . He thus represents evangelical Christianity in the whole range of its practical religious motive, as the Reformers have summed it up in the doctrine of justification; and we need not say more on that. But the special reference to daily, active sinning is lacking. In this matter he is interpreted not out of himself, but by means of alien inferences. The preponderant attention given to the doctrine of justification has dulled men’s sense for the independent ethics of the Apostle; the necessary emphasizing of the natural inability of man has led to the assertion of an imperfection without measure and without end.” Of course again a “miserable-sinner” doctrine such as is here described should be repelled as Scholz repels it: a doctrine which throws such stress on justification that it has lost all sense for moral action; and which has turned our continued imperfections into a “precious doctrine,” to be cherished, instead of a state of sin to be striven against. We are *not* to continue in sin;

⁹⁵ P. 472.

⁹⁶ P. 482.

moral effort is *always* demanded; and the recognition of our continued imperfection must operate as the *spur* that at every moment drives us onward. In justice to Scholz it is to be borne in mind, however, that in his own environment there are some who do appear to submerge the moral demand in continued or repeated justification, thus finding the whole meaning of Christianity, formally at least, in justification; and who fancy themselves to be maintaining the Lutheran tradition in so doing.⁹⁷ It is less in them, however, than in Scholz's transcript of Paul's teaching that the real "miserable-sinner" doctrine is to be found.

And when Scholz goes on to describe⁹⁸ the state of mind which ruled in Paul's day, "the miserable-sinner" finds his own very much reflected in it. "To the generation of that day, nothing was more alien than the passive knowledge of self and of sins, which makes a painful privilege or distressful business of the mournful contemplation of our perpetual imperfection, falls back therewith on the grace of God, and is just as sluggish in forming resolutions as in actual conduct. A high feeling of responsibility teaches us not to permit ourselves to be overcome by evil but to overcome evil with good (Rom. xii. 21). With this earnestness in our sense of duty, the joyful character of Christian morality thoroughly accords. Everything is thrilling with stimulation—the range of the morally attainable expands—the final success is assured." . . . That is just how the "miserable sinner" feels. Does not Scholz himself tell us so of Zinzendorf, his typical example? "That no abatement is suffered in the earnestness of sanctification and moral renewal, or in the comprehensive circle of duties included in them," he says,⁹⁹ "may be recognized all the more readily that Zinzendorf's Christocentric ethics, elsewhere made known, is characterized by richness of conception, purity of ideas, and salutary emphasis on the effort

⁹⁷ Cf. *The Princeton Theological Review*, January, 1920, pp. 95ff.

⁹⁸ P. 483.

⁹⁹ P. 465.

after sanctification. To feel ourselves a 'miserable sinner' has never with him the meaning of renunciation of the ethical task, or even assignment to it of a lower value in comparison with religious experience. It is equally excluded on the other hand that this doctrine issues in a new form of self-torturing after the Pietistic fashion. It is precisely against the self-torturing of that narrow-hearted, unfruitful penitential practice of the dominant Pietism, rich in deceptions and self-deceptions, that Zinzendorf's system is directed with emphasis. He does not wish that a Christian man should be of a sad countenance, with hanging head; he hates a dejected and discontented piety, which comes to nothing but the repetition of its lamentations. He demands and exhibits a joyful Christianity."

Scholz's zeal, it cannot fail to have been perceived, is burning for the ethical character of Christianity, which he wrongly conceives to be brought into jeopardy by the point of view of "the miserable sinner." Following Ritschl he even places justification and sanctification in contrast with one another as contradictories, of which if one be taken the other must be left. Paul, says he,¹⁰⁰ never refers sinning Christians to Christ for forgiveness but always on the contrary to the Holy Spirit that they may be girded for the fight. The Christian life is thus to Scholz, in its very essence, a conflict; and as it is not a hopeless but an auspicious conflict, it is also a constant advance towards the good. He stands here on ground diametrically opposite to that occupied by Karl, who, we will remember, supposes the Christian from the very beginning perfect, just because recreated by the Holy Spirit. Scholz on the contrary, teaches an ethically progressive Christianity, and indeed it is precisely for this that he is primarily solicitous, as it well became him to be on the ground of his Ritschlian moralism. "It presupposes a high estimate of the moral powers of the gospel," says he,¹⁰¹ praising Paul, "when in

¹⁰⁰ P. 476.

¹⁰¹ P. 476f.

general, he does not doubt a favorable issue of the process depicted, and in particular shuns employing the divine forgiveness as a means of soothing, to say nothing of as a motive for corruption." Paul, he says, only incidentally and in particular instances warns against over-confidence, but on the other hand "puts, fundamentally, in the first rank growth, advance, progress." "Who will see in these heroic lines," he cries,¹⁰² "the portrait of 'the miserable sinner' "? No one, of course; but only because, in painting the figure of the strenuously advancing Christian, common to both "the miserable-sinner Christianity" and his own fervent moralism, he has sedulously obliterated the background upon which it is thrown up in the one, and worked in that which is appropriate only to the other. The divine forgiveness is not allowed to serve either for consolation for shortcomings still remaining or for encouragement for going onward. It is under the incitement of the gospel proclamation alone, which can act only "ethically" that is to say in the way of bringing inducements to bear on a free spirit, that the Christian hews his way onward in the strength of his own right arm. It is not difficult to see which of these two points of view is Paul's.

It is also easy to see that, although there is no room in Scholz's system for such a perfectionism as Karl teaches, he cherishes nevertheless a very high estimate of human prowess and human achievements, and is eager (with the help of Paul) to set it over against what he conceives to be the depreciatory view of "the miserable sinner." "Paul," say he,¹⁰³ after having drawn a picture of the shortcomings of Paul's converts, "has no scruples in designating as saints or sanctified, as the beloved of God, as the body of Christ, the temple of the Holy Ghost, the building of God, a host of men who display these obvious deficiencies in their active moral life." And then he adds: "To such an extent does reflection on God's grace, which enters into

¹⁰² P. 477.

¹⁰³ P. 476.

the life of believers on the one side as justifying, on the other as sanctifying, and forms something new in the core of their nature, preponderate with him, that the empirical failings of moral sinfulness do not come into comparison with it." On the face of it, this statement is a recognition of the continued presence and activity of sin in Christians, and the exaltation of the power of grace—justifying, sanctifying, recreating—over it. The scope of it is merely to show by the titles which he gives them, the honor which Paul put on Christians as subjects of this grace, with a view, naturally, to withdrawing them from the depreciatory judgment supposed to be visited on them (but surely not as subjects of grace) by "miserable-sinner Christianity."

This motive is more clearly manifested, however, in the description of Paul's estimate of his own person. "It may be boldly maintained," we read,¹⁰⁴ "that Paul makes no express use of the predicate 'miserable sinner' for his own person and in view of his daily life of sanctification. He would neither say with Luther, 'for we daily sin much and deserve nothing but punishment;' nor would he with Zinzendorf rest his hope before God's judgment 'on the Ransom alone.' What is to be read in 2 Tim. iv. 7 is spoken entirely in this sense: 'I have fought the good fight, I have finished the course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness which the Lord, the righteous Judge will give me at that day.' His good conscience is raised above all doubt, although with the proviso of humble deference to the final judgment of God (I Cor. iv. 4, 2 Cor. i. 12, iv. 2, vi. 6ff); he exhorts the brethren to walk in imitation of him, (Phil. iii. 17), and when he brings into consideration the effect of his vocational activity in his life, and the development of the inner man, he can only triumphantly declare: We all, with unveiled face, reflecting as in a mirror the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, as from the Lord of

¹⁰⁴ P. 379.

the Spirit (2 Cor. III. 18)." Shall we say that on this showing Paul, despite his constant protest, was saved by works, at least in part,—not by "the Ransom alone"? Shall we say that, according to it, again, despite his protest, he had already attained and was already perfect; and, different in this from his converts, whom he addresses in his letters, had already fought his fight through to a finish and no longer was ethically advancing? We can hardly say less than that according to it Paul felt no lack in himself, no dissatisfaction with his attainments, and saw nothing before him but ever rising stages of glory. And even that, although overdrawn and, as here put, misleading, might be allowed to pass without much remark, except for one thing—the omission of Christ.¹⁰⁵ If we could look through it and see Christ behind it all; and look into it and see trustful dependence on Christ transfused through it all; we might perhaps recognize Paul in it. Otherwise not: for to him Christ was all in all and only in Christ did he have any ground, any goal, any hope, any strength. The ground of Paul's satisfaction was not in himself but in Christ. And that is precisely what "miserable-sinner Christianity" means. It does not mean that our attainments in Christian living may not be great, or that we may not find a legitimate satisfaction in their greatness. It means, however, that it is only as we penetrate behind these at-

¹⁰⁵ It may be worth while to remind ourselves that almost as good a case could be made for Paul's "perfection" before as after his conversion. He never was a "sinful" man in the coarse sense. "He had been a highly moral Pharisee, and lived the strictest of lives," as we are reminded by P. Gardner (*The Religious Experience of St. Paul*, 1911, p. 22). He tells us himself that "as regards the righteousness which was in the law he was blameless." He does not accuse himself of the vices which he names as having stained the lives of some of his Gentile converts. If he seems in a passage like Tit. III. 3, to include himself in the description, may we not say (reasons Gardner) that the "we" is ambiguous and must we not in any case deny Titus to Paul? And is not Eph. II. 3 open to the same doubt? The bearing of the fundamental fact that Paul was in any case a "good" man ought not to be neglected in interpreting his words. The alternatives are not either "good" or "wicked," but, either "good" or "perfect."

tainments, no matter how great they may be, to their source in the Redeemer, that we find any solid ground for satisfaction. And if our attainments meanwhile fall in any degree short of perfection, the necessity of recourse to their guarantor in the Redeemer becomes in that degree more and more poignant. To Paul as to his followers there is no satisfaction to be had in the contemplation of ourselves, since our best attainments are imperfect, and since, because they are experienced as imperfect, they beget in us a divine dissatisfaction which spurs us onward. Here is the paradox of "the miserable-sinner Christianity," — dissatisfaction with self conjoined with satisfaction with Christ, in whom alone is the promise and potency of all our possible advance.

It was immediately on the heels of Karl's and Scholz's essays that Paul Wernle's book¹⁰⁶ appeared, written with such flare and fury as to compel the attention which they had not received. Wernle comes forward like Scholz as a follower of Ritschl,¹⁰⁷ though he was too young to have been his personal pupil; and he makes it his real task to justify by a detailed study of Paul's Epistles, or rather of as many of them as he will allow to Paul,¹⁰⁸ Ritschl's representation that the Reformation doctrine of "the miserable sinner" finds no support for itself whatever in Paul.¹⁰⁹ The

¹⁰⁶ *Der Christ und die Sünde bei Paulus*, 1897. The preface is dated February, 1897. Scholz's essay was printed in the last *Heft* of the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* for 1896 and appeared probably in November. Karl's dedication is dated January, 1896.

¹⁰⁷ Pp. v. 13f.

¹⁰⁸ He uses Thessalonians, Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, Philipians and Colossians (omitting Ephesians and the Pastorals.) Karl uses only the four great Epistles and Philippians.

¹⁰⁹ This is the way he states his problem in a general and positive form (p. 3): "The problem of the Christian life, as the Reformation raised it, and as Ritschl has posited it afresh, is this: how the Christian can be a joyful child of God, in spite of sin." The Reformation answer, By trusting our sins to Christ, he says is wrong. Paul's answer (as he reads Paul), By the immediate perfecting of the soul in baptism, is also wrong. Ritschl's answer is, By treating sinning as negligible and going on and doing your duty in your station in life. That seems in general Wernle's answer.

method he pursues is that bad one very common among Teutonic investigators, of coming to the subject of study with a hypothesis already in hand, and "verifying" that hypothesis by seeing how far it can be carried through. This method leads inevitably to much twisting and turning in the effort to make the unwilling texts fit into the assumed hypothesis: and no one surely could have given us more twisting and turning than Wernle does. The Paul with which he emerges is far more Karl's Paul than Scholz's: he is indeed substantially the same Paul with Karl's. It is not easy, it is true, to obtain a perfectly unitary picture of him. He is not only presented as with the most brazen impudence asserting as fact what not only he but everybody concerned could not fail to know was not fact—as when he is said to have proclaimed all Christians—the Christians of Corinth and Galatia, for example—free from sin. He is represented also as contradicting himself flatly with the utmost ease and indifference—as when he is said to have taught that Christians are not liable to the judgment and yet to have threatened Christians sharply precisely with this judgment. He is even drawn as so developing from epistle to epistle as, in effect, to be a series of Pauls. He does not get to be really Paul in fact until the sixth chapter of Romans, and then by the third chapter of Colossians he has passed onward into still another Paul. These Pauls are all bound together, it is true, by two common traits which may be supposed to form the fundamental, as well as the abiding, elements of his character. He is always a missionary and always an enthusiast.¹¹⁰ But he only slowly becomes a moralist. Up to the sixth chapter of Romans he teaches no morality; there he teaches an immediately perfect morality; when we arrive at the third chapter of Colossians he is found teaching a progressive morality.

¹¹⁰ Cf. e. g. p. 79. "For the right understanding of the Epistle to the Galatians, two factors are of decisive importance: his theory of the Christian life is the theory of a *missionary*; and its root is *enthusiasm*."

Before the sixth chapter of Romans we have merely the missionary proclaiming justification by faith and leaving it at that; the quickly coming parousia precludes all question of his converts' sinning—there is not time for sinning; and so they are left to the warmth of their purely religious enthusiasm in view of the rapidly approaching end. In the sixth chapter of Romans the morals of the converts have been taken up among the miraculous gifts of the Spirit; they have been recreated in their baptism into newness of life; henceforth they cannot sin; they are perfect. Yet by the third chapter of Colossians this perfection has been found sufficiently imperfect to admit of further perfecting; the converts must go on if they are to attain perfection.

It is needless to say that Wernle feels little admiration for this Paul, who seems to be ever learning and never coming to the knowledge of the truth. If the main motive of his book is to deprive the Reformers of the support of Paul, this is not because in his own view the support of Paul is of large value. The argument against the Reformers is purely *ad hominem*. If orthodox Protestantism derives comfort from the supposition that it reproduces the teaching of Paul, it must forego that comfort. For himself, however, it would be difficult to determine which Wernle thinks less well of—orthodox Protestantism or Paul. He stands apart from both, and from his superior position of critic speaks biting words of each. Nothing startled his first readers more than the contemptuous tone which he uses towards Paul. The venerable Adolf Hilgenfeld sharply rebukes his "overbearing manner"—with perhaps some increase of the sharpness because of the manifestation of this overbearing manner also toward the Tübingen school.¹¹¹ Otto Lorenz is full

¹¹¹ *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1898. 41. pp. 161ff. article: "Paulus vor dem Richterstuhle eines Ritschlianer." "The 'hard doctrinairism,'" says Hilgenfeld in closing—referring to Wernle's characterization of Paul's teaching—"is clearly to be recognized not in Paul of Tarsus but in Paul Wernle of Basel, who missed Ritschl's doctrine

of indignation over what he calls Wernle's "swaggering attitude" toward the Apostle.¹¹² These are not men whom it was easy to shock with criticisms of Paul; both say things about him themselves which shock us. But they could not brook his reduction to a man of whom it could be said that he had no eye for the real, that he dealt in commonplace, high-sounding phrases of whose truth to fact he was indifferent, that when he did not wish to see a thing he did not see it, that he learned nothing from experience, did not in the least bother about the contradictions of fact, but acted steadily on the theory, "It ought to be, therefore it is."

Wernle's primary impulse was derived from what he conceived to be the unwholesome acquiescence of Protestant Christianity in sinning. What he sought in the first instance to do was to show that no warrant for this attitude was supplied by Paul from whom Protestantism felicitated itself that it derived its whole religious character. For Luther and his followers, he asserts,¹¹³ "the riches of God's grace and of the merit of Christ are manifested precisely in the forgiveness of the ever new sins of the Christian." "It is emphasized over and over again," he says, "that the whole glory of the condition of Christians consists in this—that sin no longer condemns, that we can live in grace in spite of sin." The implication is that on the Protestant view, what we receive in Christianity is really license to sin; continuous forgiveness of sins supercedes the necessity of cessation of sinning; and the question that is raised is "whether the moral state of the Chris-

that we know nothing of sin outside the Christian community in Paul, and cannot find his way in the higher ideas of the Paul who reasons of sin and grace." (p. 171).

¹¹²*Protestantische Monatshefte*, 1897, pp. 376-378, review of Wernle's book. "Is there no other explanation of these contrasting declarations, that the Christian is free from sin and that he is not so, except the crassest self-contradiction?" "Wernle himself knows very well 'that his ideas are carefully ordered and stand in a close inner connection.'" It is in truth not Paul who is self-contradictory, but Wernle himself.

¹¹³ P. 101.

tian possesses any importance." It was not Paul who made Christianity into this kind of a "sin-religion." It was Augustine who did this; he it was who first put sin and grace over against one another at the heart of Christianity, preoccupied man with the idea of sin, and presented the Christian religion as above everything else a source of consolation for men self-conscious in their sin. With Paul it was a very different story. To speak perfectly frankly Paul shows very little engagement with the subject of sin.¹¹⁴ In Romans alone among his Epistles does he handle the topic theoretically at all. In the other letters even the terms "sin" or "to sin" are near to lacking. In I Corinthians, for instance, the noun "sin" occurs only in three passages in the fifteenth chapter and the verb "to sin" in seven passages scattered through the letter. And yet the congregation at Corinth certainly gave sufficient occasion for speaking of sin, if Paul was specially inclined to speak of it. In Romans sin is, no doubt, made the subject of discussion in chs. I-III, v b and VII b. But all these discussions concern the pre-Christian situation, while in Rom. VI, sin is just dismissed altogether from the Christian life, and that in the plainest of words. When Paul thinks of sin, in other words, he is not thinking of Christians; he is thinking of something which Christians put behind them on becoming Christians. Precisely what Christians are is the men who have ceased from sinning; the relation of the condition of sin and the condition of grace is a chronologically successive one. And so, Wernle formally announces as the result of his investigations just this:¹¹⁵ "That the Christian state has nothing further to do with sin; that the Christian is a sin-free man and shall appear as such before God at the rapidly approaching day of judgment."

The religion of Christians, according to Paul, says Wernle, feeds purely on God and the future. "Forgive-

¹¹⁴ P. 124.

¹¹⁵ P. 126.

ness of sins, comfort for sin—that belongs to the past; the Pneumatic must be done with that."¹¹⁶ He has secured his forgiveness once for all in the great experience of justification, by which his life has been cut in half. We have already seen Wernle declaring that "the condition of grace follows the condition of sin in chronological succession."¹¹⁷ It is precisely here, he says, that Protestantism has deserted Paul; and he expounds the matter at length. "In Protestant orthodoxy," says he,¹¹⁸ "the relation of the state of grace to the state of sin is no longer conceived as one of succession. The proof of universal sinfulness has for the Lutheran dogmatician the purposes of showing the indispensableness of righteousness by faith for every moment of the life (as is very clearly set forth by Troeltsch, *Vernunft und Offenbarung bei Johann Gerhard und Melancthon*, pp. 133ff, 137). We should be conscious of ourselves as sinners in every moment of our Christian life, that we may ever anew feel the need of forgiveness and the imputation of Christ's righteousness. From this point of view the contrast of the 'now time' [in Rom. III. 26] to the time of the 'sins that are past' is explained by the contrast of the Christian and pre-Christian eras, and the theme treated is why God, and how He, was gracious to the Jews already before Christ's death. For the Christian on the other hand the time of sin altogether coincides with the time of forgiveness; for Christ's death has made it possible for us to receive justification ever afresh, despite our perpetual sin." Having thus described the Protestant view, he now contrasts with it Paul's own. "It is impossible," he says,¹¹⁹ "to exaggerate the divergence of this Protestant theory from Paul's meaning. Where is there in the whole body of Paul's letters a single passage in which Paul appeals to Christ's death for the continuing

¹¹⁶ P. 127.

¹¹⁷ P. 126.

¹¹⁸ Pp. 94f.

¹¹⁹ P. 94.

sins of Christians? And which letter even in the smallest degree shows the Lutheran mood as to sin and grace? In all—in absolutely all—of them the fundamental idea is this—that sins are gone, that the Christian has them no longer, since he has become a Christian. The ‘now time’ is precisely the Messianic age; over against it the ‘sins that are past’ of Rom. III. 26 are the sins of Christians before their entrance into the community of the Kingdom of God (cf. 2 Pet. 1.9 and everywhere in the later literature). God has borne with them patiently and passed them by up to the forgiveness through Christ’s death; now, since those burdened with them have become believers in Christ, He has obliterated them. When we were still sinners, Christ died for us; now, since we have been justified by His blood, we are no longer sinners (Rom. v. 8). The ‘now time’ begins historically, it is true, with Christ’s death and resurrection, but for every Christian it begins with his entrance into the community, with his justification. Then the sins that are past are washed away; up to then the man was a ‘sinner,’ now he is that no longer. Precisely from this it is clear that Paul, in Romans too, occupied the standpoint of the missionary, divided the world from the missionary’s experience of conversion, and distributed sin and grace respectively to the two halves of life. He did not reflect upon how the Christian receives forgiveness in the state of grace, since he made no such supposition as that the Christian needs forgiveness in the state of grace. In Protestant orthodoxy, on the other hand, the missionary problem has fallen away, and a problem derived from the congregational life has taken its place.”

It is not worth while to remark here on the violence done in this passage to Rom. III. 25, 26. There can be no real question that Paul is distinguishing there between the two dispensations, and makes no reference whatever to the pre- and post-justification experiences of the individual Christian. It is more important at the moment

to point out the emphasis with which Wernle confines the effects of justification in Paul's view to the sins committed before it has been received. If sins are committed afterwards, there is no remedy for them in justification. But he is emphatic in declaring that according to Paul, no sins are committed afterwards. The saving effect of justification continues only because Christians, having been completely saved by it once for all, need no further saving. This is how Wernle puts it: ¹²⁰ "The natural man, whether Jew or Gentile, so long as he operates with works, can only bring down God's wrath on himself, and never finds of himself by his own activity the way to the divine salvation. In the sight of the infallible Judge, as the Scriptures reveal Him, who can stand before God? When it is a matter of salvation, man can only lift his eyes and grasp the hand that is held out to him,—that is, believe. Here the missionary question has only become the occasion for the most profound apprehension of the religious problem. Had Paul carried this way of thinking through, his theology would have approached that of the Reformation, and especially Calvin's (cf. the kindred idea in *Inst.* III.12) infinitely more closely; for how can a man who so judges himself before God ever cease to feel himself a sinner, who is in need of grace? But strange as it may appear to us, Paul confined this way of thinking to the state of the natural man, and banished it from the state of Christians. The Christian may boast (Rom. v. 6); he is the bond-servant of God and of the righteousness (vi. 18, 22); is filled with the fruit of righteousness (Phil. i. 11). Thus Paul has remained to the end, the missionary, who summons to the Kingdom of God. The Christian congregations are for him withdrawn from the world, the children of God who do righteousness. Man sins; the Christian is free from sin after his justification."

According to this representation the entirety of salvation not only hangs with Paul on justification, but is ac-

¹²⁰ P. 96.

complished in justification. But Wernle does not maintain this representation. The insistence that justification affects only the sins "that are past" in each individual case, made even in this very passage, renders its maintenance impossible. The life of the Christian may be consequent on his justification, but it is also subsequent to it; it may be lived out under the influence of justification, it is not, and it is one of Wernle's most peremptory assertions that with Paul it is not, lived out under the continuous application of justification. Paul, according to him, looks upon justification as cutting the life into two unrelated halves. What it does is to give the Christian a new start. Its only effect is wholly with the past life. The future life—what of it? There must be something to be said of it. We find Wernle accordingly, on an earlier page,¹²¹ representing Protestantism as differing from Paul, precisely in its tendency to look upon justification as the entirety of salvation. Paul, it seems, had something to add to justification. "The missionary preaching of the prevenient grace of God which grants to every believer forgiveness for his previous sins, is what distinguishes Paul from the other apostles, is the peculiarly Pauline element of his theology. But this always remained with him missionary preaching; he did not revert to this side of his gospel with Christians. That great proclamation of faith and forgiveness stands with him at the beginning, and is far from being as in Protestantism, the sum of his whole religion. Protestantism has thus—by applying this missionary preaching to the community and declaring it the whole of the gospel—passed far beyond Paul." There could not be a more distinct assertion that justification constitutes only a part, perhaps only a small part, of Paul's gospel, and concerns only the initial stage of the Christian life; it was supplemented for those who had experienced justification by an apparently copious and certainly weighty further teaching.

It is not at first apparent, however, what this further

¹²¹ P. 54.

gospel for believers as distinguished from unbelievers is. It appears as if in Paul's practice, or at least in his earlier practice, it amounted to nothing more than the preaching of the duty of a moral life and exhortations to those who sinned to repent and put away sin from them. By such a representation the effect of justification is made in the sharpest way possible to be merely the giving to men of a fresh start; and Paul is made, despite the protest of his whole life, to base salvation in the most express manner on faith and works combined, or rather on works alone wrought on the basis of a clean slate attained through faith. Wernle,¹²² while declaring that in point of fact Paul did proceed practically on precisely this ground,—“separating justification and salvation in such a way that he bases them respectively on different conditions, the one on faith and the other on works,”—yet finds himself in difficulties in attributing this dualism to him in theory, because of his “promising salvation to every believer without any supplement or any condition.” After all, then, Paul understood himself to promise a complete salvation to that faith by which justification is received; and this is sufficiently close to saying that all salvation was, in one way or another, implied in justification. His gospel was a unit, and it is to misunderstand him to divide it into unrelated or loosely related parts. “Therefore,” says Wernle himself,¹²³ “Paul's theory of justification and salvation, what he called his gospel, is unitary and clear. It is pure proclamation of faith; faith receives salvation as well as justification. It introduces into the community of salvation and guarantees salvation to those that are in it. It needs no supplementing by works; the simple invocation of the name of Jesus at the judgment is enough.” But then he adds: “But this theory, this gospel, is not the whole of what Paul taught. We meet with almost nothing of it in the letters to the Corinthians; the fear of God, sanctifi-

¹²² P. 97.

¹²³ P. 99.

cation, love are demanded by Paul from his readers. In I Cor. x he directly forbids them to imagine themselves sure of salvation. That the judgment proceeds according to works is also in Rom. XIII. 14 the simple assumption. This contradiction of theory and practice is insoluble."

A considerable portion of Wernle's inability to accredit to Paul a unitary conception of salvation, is due really to his own ingrained dualism, inherited from Ritschl, with regard to justification and ethical renewal. "It is Ritschl's merit," he says,¹²⁴ "to have shown that justification has no causal relation to the moral life, that, rather, its consequences are peace with God and firm hope of acceptance at the last judgment, confidence in prayer and trust in God's providence,"¹²⁵—in other words religious, as distinguished from ethical. "The Christian, through justification, receives a right to all the benefits of the Messianic community, without any moral transformation being derived from it." Clearly this is a profoundly immoral doctrine to attribute to Paul, without anything so far as we have yet seen, to balance it. The Apostle, we have been told, preaches justification by faith alone, and promises to all who exercise this faith salvation in its completeness; and this is defined to include all the benefits of the Messianic community; and yet no moral transformation is included, although moral transformation is prominent among the Messianic promises. Fortunately, the Apostle is not in the least guilty of the immorality charged against him. He not only preaches morality as we have already seen with the utmost vigor, and threatens with the terrors of the judgment all doers of iniquity. He provides for the moral life of his converts as an essential part of his gospel, and that with such fullness that Wernle represents him as providing for their necessary and complete sinlessness.

It is of course the sixth chapter of Romans which comes

¹²⁴ P. 100.

¹²⁵ Ritschl, *Recht. und Versöhn.*, II. pp. 343-353.

most pointedly into consideration here; but equally of course not the sixth chapter of Romans alone, or even first. Wernle is himself compelled to admit that in Gal. v. 24 what is taught in Rom. vi is suggested, and that in 1 Cor. vi. 11 it is something more than suggested. The latter passage he represents as ¹²⁶ the first in which Paul gives utterance to this line of thought. "He does not yet attempt," he adds, "to make clear to himself how the sinlessness of Christians follows from the experience of baptism; he has as yet no theory of regeneration. He is merely sure that, through God's grace in baptism, past and present stand in the sharpest contrast, and sin is already broken off." "The Corinthians are to take note that the Christian life is no life at once in sin and grace, that after the once for all and unrepeatable experience of sanctification and justification, sin has simply come to an end." We are astonished, says Wernle, to read such words addressed to the sinful Corinthians. The actual situation, however, could not affect Paul's conviction "of the total separation of the Christian life and the world, and the radical significance of conversion, as he had experienced it in himself." "There is already exhibited here that audacious but abstract idealism, which, in the framing of theories, looks on the contradiction of experience with indifference."

As the sixth chapter of Romans itself is approached we are warned to remember the enthusiastic background and to interpret therefore from the eschatological standpoint. And then we have this remarkable passage.¹²⁷ "From the other epistles we learned that the problem of the sin of Christians had no existence for Paul whatever because of the hoped-for nearness of the parousia. This result is not invalidated but sustained by Rom. vi. The problem does no doubt emerge, but only to be simply repelled: 'God forbid.' And the reason is the same as before; we are already living in 'the age to come,' are snatched away from

¹²⁶ Pp. 57f.

¹²⁷ P. 103.

the old world. We are just as certainly risen as Christ is risen; bodily death will surely pass us by. Sin is no longer anything to us, since in the next instant we receive the new sinless body. We can no longer sin, because we are men of the future." We have called this passage remarkable because it is a mass of open contradictions. The problem of sin among Christians is said to have no existence with Paul and to be raised here and argued. It is said that it is raised only to be repelled, and that it is argued to one solution out of a possible many. In point of fact, the passage is not concerned with our bodily death and resurrection and says nothing of the parousia, whether near or distant; it is "*as if* alive from the dead" that we are to walk (verse 13). So far from sin being no concern of Christians, the passage is written because it is very much their concern. So far from its being impossible for Christians to sin because they are men of the future, the Apostle earnestly exhorts them not to sin, proves that it is grossly inconsistent in them to sin, and in the end promises them freedom from sin as an attainment of the future. From the very first verse of the sixth chapter of Romans two things subversive of Wernle's whole point of view are perfectly plain. First, that Paul is speaking to a constituency among whom sinning has not automatically ceased on their believing. "Are we to *continue* in sin?" he asks of them; and that would not have been a serious question if it had been a matter of course that they had ceased from sinning and could no longer sin. Secondly, that the grace received by them at believing did not have exclusive reference to the sins that were past. Had that been the case it would have been meaningless to ask whether they were to continue in sin that this grace *might abound*. This question involves the understanding that sins committed in the Christian life share in the same grace by which the sins of the pre-Christian life have been cancelled. Paul is contemplating a situation in which not only is it conceived that sins may occur in the life of Christians, but it is understood that, occurring in it, they receive the same treat-

ment as the sins that are past—make drafts on the same grace, and thus "cause that grace to abound."

Wernle approaches the sixth chapter of Romans, then, with a bad case already in hand. We are afraid that we must say that he makes it worse by the way in which he deals with it. It is a typical and also a crucial instance of his mode of expounding Paul, and we shall therefore permit ourselves a considerable quotation from it.

"So far as this theory," says he,¹²⁸ speaking of the theory that the Christian on becoming a Christian becomes also automatically sinless, "is simply the expression of the personal enthusiasm of the apostle, it still has for us something inspiring. He had experienced the radical change; for him conversion was a new creation and resurrection. And the feeling of being wholly free from the past, and of looking solely to the future,—yes even of already living in the future as a new man,—was the living impetus of his great work. But the sixth chapter of Romans goes far beyond a mere confession-like expression of pure experience. It flatly asserts for every Christian what he, the Apostle, had himself experienced. After having had so many experiences of sin in the congregations, and in the midst of the very city in which the impossibility of a sin-free Christian life stared him daily in the face, he draws up, on the ground of a series of logical conclusions, the propositions which infer and maintain the sinlessness of Christians. After having as missionary steadily required nothing but faith, he here without more ado assumes that becoming a believer is also a break with sin, a moral renewal. What he had only suggested in Gal. v. 24,—that Christians have crucified their flesh with its passions and lusts—he expands here with manifold repetitions. He even dilates into the hyperbole, that the body of sin of baptized people is done away (vi. 6), that they are no longer in the flesh (vii. 5). No doubt he has not failed to accompany his descriptions of the Christian life always with requirements that Christians

¹²⁸ Pp. 103ff.

are to be what they have become. 'Reckon ye yourselves, therefore, to be dead to sin, but living for God in Christ Jesus. Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body. Present not your members as weapons of unrighteousness in the service of sin, but present yourselves to God' (VI. 11-13, 19). What was first an experience receives the significance of an eternal obligation. It comes in the end to this,—that the Christian *ought* not to give the dominion to sin, that he *ought* to refuse obedience to its lusts; but that is a subsequent supplement to the theory, which was required by observation of the congregations. The theory itself is framed like a law of nature, antecedently to all inquiry. Whether the Christian actually sins no longer—in Thessalonica, Corinth, Galatia, Rome—that gave Paul not a bit of concern. These conclusions which he draws are valid, because the presuppositions—the death of Christ, and so forth—are correct, not because experience is in their favour. As soon as this is overlooked, the whole passage loses its cogency. Paul raises the question whether the Christian still sins.¹²⁹ To say merely that it is his duty to serve God, that sin ought not to reign any longer in him, would be no answer at all. Everything here points to the impossibility of sinning; this is declared in the propositions in the indicative. The answer that the Christian is free from sin is *first* given. *Afterwards* his duty is laid on him in the premises. This may no doubt seem to us very salutary but certainly it ought not to be necessary—if what is maintained first is true.

"In point of fact, however, the sixth chapter of Romans yields us nothing but proof that all his experiences in his congregations taught the Apostle nothing when he had it in hand to repel an objection that suggested itself against his theory. Here is pure hard doctrinairism, quite intelligible

¹²⁹ It is doubtless unnecessary to point out that this is not the fact. The question Paul raised was not, whether the Christian still sins, but whether the Christian ought still to sin. What follows in Wernle's argument is therefore from the start without force.

from the Apostle's eschatological enthusiasm, but none the less doctrinairism. Paul does not wish to see the problem of sin in the life of Christians; therefore it has no existence. At bottom, despite this theory, he holds the ethical and the religious together only by an assertion. For that (moral) conversion always and everywhere coincides with becoming a believer, the Apostle has not shown and experience had already in his time refuted it. He could not do anything else, however, than tread this dangerous path of postulations, because he had left the proclamation of judgment out of his theory. If mere faith saves and all believers are exempt from the judgment, then the moral character of religion can be preserved only through the postulate that justification and regeneration coincide. It remains a postulate which experience seldom verifies; but the moral earnestness of faith is saved by it. Only by this theory could Paul meet effectively the valid objections against his gospel. If the believer is at the same time the regenerated, then all reproach of moral laxity falls away. Paul is not to blame for the difficulties and ambiguities which have thus been imposed on Christian dogmatics. For it was his fixed belief that the new world would come quickly and these questions be altogether abrogated. And this would also be the sole decisive reply to the objection of VI. 1—the destruction of the world.

"The doctrine of the sin-free life of the Christian is the most striking difference of the Pauline theology from that of the Reformation. The Reformers derived from Rom. VI the obligation to strive after sanctification, the explanation of the perpetual *mortificatio carnis* and *resurrectio spiritus*. But the possibility that the Christian can attain to moral perfection in this life, they denied outright; it has since been characteristic of sects of fanatics. There lay in this simply a historical necessity. It was out of fanaticism, that is to say, out of fixed belief in the nearness of the parousia, that this doctrine was generated in Paul's case too: apart from this it cannot maintain itself. The break

with this postulate of sinlessness was an act of veracity. Since, however, the Reformers retained the Pauline formulas, they increased the confusion and called into existence that, in spite of all idealism, false theory of regeneration in which the question dare not be asked who is regenerate or when and where the regeneration has taken place. And since, following in the track of Paul, they have even more completely set aside the proclamation of the judgment, without having, in conversion, such a counterweight as Paul had, they have crippled the moral power of the gospel and robbed themselves of the simplest of the practical motives. Thus they have at one and the same time advanced beyond Paul to the gospel of Jesus, and yet remained behind him. It is not to the sixth chapter of Romans alone that this applies, but it is very clearly in evidence there."

It is after this absurd fashion that Wernle establishes his central contention—that Paul teaches that Christians as such are sinless, and thus stands at the opposite pole from the Reformation doctrine that Christians "sin much every day." It is very clear from Wernle's own presentation that Paul does not teach anything of the kind. To attribute it to him is to bring him into open conflict, not only, as Wernle allows, with all the facts of his observation—facts, be it noted, known to us only from his letters—but with all the facts of his letters as well. The Christians of Paul's letters are not sinless but "sin much every day." The individual instances of sins actually committed brought before us here and there in the letters, although a significant fact, do not constitute the main fact. The main fact is the pervasive concernment of the letters with the moral correction and advancement of Christians. The letters are compact of imperatives. We have had occasion to observe how Wernle attempts to meet the challenge of these imperatives in the sixth chapter of Romans. It is scarcely worth while, however, to endeavor to explain away one here and there. They crowd every epistle; and this general fact cannot be met by declaring¹³⁰ that Paul

¹³⁰ Pp. 59f.

did not know the difference between *Sein* and *Sollen*, so that to this man who understood how to use the imperative better than anybody else who ever lived, "the difference between the natural and the ethical, what we are and what we ought to be, was hidden." After all is said, it remains true that exhortations like these imply imperfection, effort, growth; and these things accordingly appear as the characteristic of the Christian life as it is brought before us in Paul's epistles. F. Winkler observes quite to the point:¹³¹ "We have no New Testament letter to which there are not adjoined ethical exhortations, which set sanctification before us in its progressive nature with the fundamental tendency of 'Not that I have already attained or am already made perfect, but I press on after it' (Phil. III. 12ff)." It is meaningless to attempt to explain away Phil. III. 12. The whole New Testament is an extended Phil. III. 12, and is based fundamentally on the presupposition that a holy life is an achievement and is attained by continuous effort, the goal of which lies ever in the future. Wernle is compelled by his thesis to contend that nevertheless Paul does not contemplate any growth in the Christian life. The parousia was immediately impending, says he: there was no time for growth. The Christian must at all times be already grown, or the parousia would catch him unready.

The parousia thus appears as "in the higher sense the regulator of the Christian life." "It is clear from this," Wernle explains, "how wholly perverse it is to talk of a *process*, or a *development*, of the Christian life with Paul. He prescribes an incessant separation from the world, and renewal of the mind; he does not rest satisfied with conversion; nevertheless the conception of development can only by a misunderstanding be introduced into the Pauline ethics. The nearness of the parousia leaves no place for it whatever; what it demands is precisely that we be ready when the Lord comes; it makes it difficult so much as to set before ourselves a high goal in the distance. Therefore the

¹³¹ Robert Pearsall Smith *und der Perfectionismus*, 2, 1915, p. 12.

ethics of Rom. XII-XIII passes no other judgment on sin than the rest of the letter. Because the idea of development is wholly absent, there is no place for it here; there is nothing here but the either—or. He who does evil incurs the wrath of God, and of His agent the earthly magistracy. The Christian who does evil has nothing else to expect than the heathen; there is no forgiveness which makes his position more endurable. The conclusion of chapter XIII falls in with this. He who still walks in darkness must perish when the 'day' appears. The Christian life is a life in the clear light of the coming day; it has nothing to hide, it needs no twilight. It is absolutely impossible to have part in Christ and still to do the pleasure of the flesh; that is, the Christian in sin has secured no place whatever in the Pauline ethics. By such a notion it would have lost its very core." No sooner, however, has Wernle made this strong assertion that the Christian according to Paul is always "finished," always all that he is to be, so that he may be ready for the parousia, than he is compelled by passages like Col. II. 3f. Phil. III. 20, Rom. VIII. 13 to allow that the parousia does not find him finished, but contributes something to his "glory." So long as he lives here below he has "to contend with the remains of the old world in his body."¹³³ This seems to him to be in contradiction with Paul's general teaching, and he takes refuge as always in the manifest inconsistency between Paul's teaching as he expounds it and the matter of fact which is always seeking recognition at his hands: "it remains always a mere assertion that the Christian has broken once for all with sin; experience is always compelling corrections, exhortations and threats."

It is not however merely by exhortations and threats that Paul deals with the sinning Christians into contact with whom his experience brought him. He tells us of individual cases of sinning Christians with whom he dealt by discipline. They occur from the earliest epistles (2 Thess. III.

¹³² P. 114.

¹³³ P. 117.

12ff) on, and in no case is the sin dealt with, even when of the grossest nature, (1 Cor. v. 5), treated, as Wernle would have us believe Paul must needs look upon it even at its lightest, as destroying the Christian character. In Gal. vi. 1ff this practice of discipline is generalized and made a standing Christian duty toward erring brethren, a manifest proof that it was supposed that Christian brethren might err and need to be corrected, as indeed is directly asserted. Wernle's dealing with this passage is very instructive.¹³⁴ He begins by declaring that only the lighter sins are contemplated here: an assertion borne out neither by the term employed, nor by the context: surely the nature of the faults intended is intimated in v. 19ff. He then goes on to say that it is presupposed that at the moment of sinning, even in the case of light faults, the Christian loses the Spirit—an assertion again wholly without warrant from either the text or the context, or rather in complete disaccord with both. The term rendered "restore him" in our English version means just "correct him," "set him right." And the presupposition of the context is that, in the perpetual conflict between the flesh and the Spirit (v. 17), any Christian may, at any time, be overtaken by a fault. Wernle is merely, in the interests of his theory that a Christian cannot sin, representing every Christian that sins as no longer a Christian; and that involves, of course, a repeated passage back and forth from Christianity to the world and back again to Christianity, in the case of one who sins from time to time and is "corrected." Accordingly Wernle writes: "Thus the Christian life falls into a perpetual uncertainty, an eternal falling and rising again; it falls apart into separate pieces which are divided by periods of sin. And this cannot possibly be otherwise in an ethical theory based on the Spirit. This sharp division between sinner and pneumatic draws constantly after it a pulverization of the conception of life, and leaves it dependent on each moment whether the Christian is a sinner or a pneumatic." The bald assumption which

¹³⁴ P. 75.

lies at the bottom of such a deliverance—responsible for much of Wernle's false construction of Paul's teaching—is that queer doctrine argued by Karl, merely assumed by Wernle, that one must be all a sinner or else all a pneumatic; that there can be no intermediation between them: in other words that the Spirit works His effects always instantaneously complete and never through progressive stages. There is not only no warrant for this, but it is contradicted on every page of Paul's letters. Then Wernle remarks that Paul speaks in this passage no single word of "grace," or "forgiveness"—any more than in the letters to the Corinthians: "setting right"—that is what is suitable for the sinner. The remark is true enough. The sinning Christian needs only to be set right—because the forgiveness is presupposed; the Christian is living under a dispensation of forgiveness.

That Paul teaches that Christians are living under a dispensation of forgiveness is, to be sure, precisely what Wernle is most strenuously denying. Justification, according to his most insistent contention, has to do in Paul only with past sins, not future ones; there are no "future sins"—for Christians do not, cannot sin. What Paul says, however, is quite unamenable to such an interpretation. He does not say, "There is therefore now no sinning for those in Christ Jesus." He says, "There is therefore no condemnation to those in Christ Jesus"; and on the face of it this means not that those in Christ Jesus have received forgiveness for their past sins and must look out for themselves hereafter; but that those in Christ Jesus live in an atmosphere of perpetual forgiveness. Wernle of course, cannot allow that. "The Reformers repeated this sentence often," says he:¹³⁵ "but always understood it wrongly. They interpreted it as teaching that the Christian is freed from the condemnation of the law even though he should sin, because forgiveness becomes his daily portion through his faith in the vicarious suffering of Christ: in all their sorrow for sin this

¹³⁵ P. 109.

clause gave them their surest consolation. Paul however grounds freedom from condemnation on this—that the Christian is freed from the law of sin and death by the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus; that therefore the demand of the law is fulfilled in the pneumatic man. The Christian is no longer condemned because he no longer sins up to the parousia, because he is a pneumatic man. Nowhere perhaps does the difference between the two theories come so clearly to expression as in this verse. For the Reformers, everything turns on this—that the Christian in spite of his sin, can be a joyful child of God; for Paul, that he is delivered from his sin and makes his entrance into his future life. It is always the intensified eschatological expectation which separates Paul from the Reformers." It ought to be enough to point out that there is no apparent eschatological reference in Rom. VIII. 1, beyond that which is involved in the very notion of salvation. And it certainly ought to be enough to point out that in this passage least of all can Paul be supposed to be teaching the perfection of Christians. What, at bottom, Wernle makes Paul do here is to suspend the salvation of Christians on themselves—there is to be no condemnation only if they cease from sinning and maintain their sinlessness up to the parousia. And certainly it is a desperate expedient to make Paul a patron of a work-salvation, whether apart from or in conjunction with faith.

As the passage is treated by Wernle, however, as a kind of crucial one, it may not be amiss to scrutinize its language a little more closely. Paul says, "There is *therefore* now no condemnation to those in Christ Jesus," and is therefore drawing an inference from the immediately preceding statement. That preceding statement is, "Accordingly then the same I with the mind serve the law of God, with the flesh, however, the law of sin." That is to say, when Paul says, "There is therefore now no condemnation," he is inferring that there is no condemnation from his divided mind,—not from his wholly sinless state. This clause, also, however, opens with an illative particle, which carries us back

to the "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death? Thanks be to God, (it is) through Jesus Christ our Lord." And that is the cry wrung from Paul by his analysis of his divided mind. Paul then certainly means to represent the "no condemnation" as his in spite of remaining sin and sinning. When now in the second verse of the eighth chapter he supports his assertion that there is no condemnation to those in Christ Jesus by declaring that "the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has freed us from the law of sin and death," he is repeating in substance what he had said in the last clause of VII. 25, with a clearer indication of the reason of the effect produced. The reason why his divided mind results in an assurance that there is no condemnation is that its division is not between equal claimants, but one is wholly preponderant—and the preponderant one is "the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus." His mind is divided only because the Spirit of Christ Jesus has invaded it, and by invading it has freed it from the control of sin. The term employed for "freed" is not the term for "cleansed," but the term for "emancipated": it has slavery, not impurity for its background. It is bondage to sin which is affirmed to be broken; not cleansing from sin which is affirmed to be effected. This Spirit of Christ, breaking our bondage to sin, we are told, has come to us as the result of a substitutive atonement wrought by Christ in our behalf (VIII. 3); and it is explicitly declared that this atonement, condemning sin in the flesh, was "in order to the fulfilling in us of the righteousness of the law"—of "what the law laid down as its rightful demand: the singular comprehending the collective (moral) claims of right as a unity"—as H. A. W. Meyer puts it. Thus Paul teaches that our "no condemnation" in spite of our continuing sins is no ministering to evil, but has our fulfillment of the law as its necessary sequence: in other words that our justification not only covers our future as well as our past sins, but has a causal relation to our sanctification. Clearly it is the Reformers, not Wernle who have understood Paul.

The publication of Wernle's book made something like a sensation. The subject of "the sins of Christians" was brought by it, as Hans Windisch puts it,¹³⁶ into "the foreground of theological discussion." The opinions expressed upon the subject were very varied. Many of the same general way of thinking,—adherents, as Windisch would put it, of "the critical-scientific theology," or, as Fr. Winkler more distinguishingly describes them,¹³⁷ of the "history of religion wing of the modern theology,"—rallied to Wernle and indeed formed a party among whom it rapidly became something like a tradition that Paul teaches in one way or another the sinlessness of Christians. Naturally, however, adverse critics were much the more numerous. Paul Feine puts it strongly when he says:¹³⁸ "This hypothesis called out almost universal contradiction, which did not remain without influence upon Wernle himself." Whether under the influence of this adverse criticism or not, Wernle did find himself ultimately unable to maintain the positions he had so violently asserted.

Already on the appearance of his *Beginnings of our Religion*,¹³⁹ the old contentions by which he had startled the world had dropped out of sight. He has a chapter here on "the piety of the community and the piety of Paul himself"; and while the general portrait of Paul which he draws in it is not wholly dissimilar to his former mode of conceiving him, yet there is no repetition of the earlier book's fanatastic description of him as a man sinless in his own eyes and attributing a like sinlessness to his converts—asserting it of them, rather, with the fanaticism of a doctrinaire theorist although the actual facts staring him in the face shrieked against his creed. Perhaps the nearest that he comes here to repeating those old assertions is when, in discussing the contrast between sin and grace (on which he

¹³⁶ *Taufe und Sünde im ältesten Christentum bis auf Origines*, 1908, p. 2.

¹³⁷ *Robert Pearsall Smith und der Perfectionismus*, 2, 1915, p. 2.

¹³⁸ *Theologie des neuen Testaments*, 1910, p. 420 note.

¹³⁹ *Die Anfänge unserer Religion*, 1901; ed. 2, 1903, pp. 250, 252f.

says Paul was the first to ground piety), he declares that with Paul "sin and grace" were thought of as successive, not contemporaneous. That is one of his old contentions and may be intended here in the old meaning; but it is not developed here. Elsewhere he tells us in the old spirit, that, Paul throwing the emphasis on grace and being fundamentally a man of feeling, the danger of his point of view was ethical sloth. This, however, says Wernle now, the Apostle struggled against with all his might, and then instances the sixth chapter of Romans in proof. The sixth chapter of Romans appears here, then, as an effort on Paul's part to ethicize his congregation, and not, as in the former book, primarily as evidence that, being in his view by necessity of their new birth holy, they needed no ethicizing. In other words, the imperative reading of this chapter has taken the place of the indicative reading of it insisted on in the former book.

The changes thus indicated are not small, and they were to go further. In a few years it came about that Hans Windisch¹⁴⁰ did for Wernle what Wernle had done for Ritschl—took his rapid sketch, and extended, elaborated, deepened it. If Wernle's book is to Ritschl's paragraph or two, what, say, our good right arm is to our little finger, Windisch's treatise is to Wernle's book what the whole body is to the arm. Wernle undertook to show that to Paul (the Paul of his special selection of Epistles), the Christian is a sin-free man, and he paints his Paul with a very broad brush. Windisch undertakes to demonstrate the same proposition for the whole New Testament, and not content with the New Testament pushes his inquiry back to Ezekiel and forward to Origen, and examines the whole ground through a microscope. Wernle, looking apparently on Windisch's at once brilliant and labored treatise, not as the triumphant demonstration but as the *reductio ad absurdum* of his own thesis, out of which it grew, took occasion from its publication to sing his *mea culpa*. Paul to him is still fundamen-

¹⁴⁰ As cited.

tally the missionary, but he is no longer supposed to have thought Christians sinless. "Missionaries who imagine that Christians no longer sin, are sinless men in their actual nature," he now writes,¹⁴¹ "are not known to history, have never been known to history. Accordingly, the apparently contradictory theory must be corrected by the practice out of which it came, and from which it is framed. A purer man of practice than Paul, there never was; everything with him is an 'ought' and finds its place under a life-purpose. And thus the whole theory of sinlessness so far as it is found in him expresses nothing more than the energy of his requirements, and the radicalness of his faith that his God will fashion something stable out of the weak, wavering, sinking, hundred-times falling Christians. There is optimism here, of course, not only an optimism of the backward, but of the forward view, not isolated from experience, but deeply apprehending the sad experience and pushing forward to the goal." He still thinks that Paul believes it *possible* for Christians to become sinless, because he took such expressions as "new creature," "new-born children," "second birth," seriously. Possible, but by no manner of means necessary; all of Paul's apparent indicatives are nothing at bottom but strengthened imperatives; when he speaks in the sixth of Romans of an inability to sin—that is but the strongest possible way of saying that it is very improper to sin. He still thinks Paul was no teacher of "miserable-sinner Christianity"; his object was not to comfort men in their sins but to deliver them from them, and "he believed in the final purification of his communities for the day of judgment and in the salvation of all who had been called and elected even though many would need to pass through hard judgments." Paul's belief in election, he says, had its roots in his radical experience of God and possession of God, which allowed no place for a God who does His work only half way. Lapses into sin, light or serious, are not excluded by this mighty

¹⁴¹ *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1909, 21, col. 569.

faith in election and grace; but grace abounds above sin and will ultimately have its way. Those that sin Paul does not comfort by pointing them to grace; that was forbidden by his whole tendency as a missionary. He warns them of the divine judgment and calls them to repentance. They will be punished according to their sins and saved as by fire.

As we read this retractation we are almost tempted to think that Wernle has joined the company of the prophets. The ball which he had set to rolling had to roll very far however before it came to rest at this point.

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NOTES AND NOTICES

DR. TENNANT ON THE DIVINE OMNIPOTENCE AND THE CONCEPTION OF A FINITE GOD.

The existence of evil in the world has led some religious thinkers to give up the omnipotence of God in order to save his goodness, and this has become a quite popular and supposedly easy method of arriving at a Theodicy. In the novels of Mr. Wells, for example, we find this off-hand solution of a problem which has perplexed the most profound minds of every age. This movement in current religious thought may perhaps be said to be simply one phase of the question as to where we are to draw the line between the Unconditioned and Absolute of philosophy, and the "finite God" of such writers as Mr. Wells.

Dr. Tennant thinks he has found the solution in the idea of God as "determinate Being" in contrast with the Absolute of transcendental philosophy, and he has explained his idea for us in two brief but interesting articles in the *Expository Times* for October and November, 1919, the former being entitled "The Divine Omnipotence," and the latter "The Conception of a Finite God."

Dr. Tennant's distinction between the Absolute and Unconditioned of philosophy and the determinate God of theism is perfectly sound. If we say with Spinoza that every determination is a limitation, then we cannot think of God as personal or conscious or as possessed of any of the moral attributes which are attributed to the Divine Being in the Scripture, and which are likewise believed in by theistic philosophy. The result is that we are left with an unknowable Absolute or else lost in pantheism. The same result follows if we define the Infinite as the All, and maintain that God is the Infinite thus conceived. Dr. Tennant is quite justified, therefore, in his desire to reaffirm and defend belief in the "determinate" God of theism and of the Bible.

And once again, Dr. Tennant is right in drawing a sharp distinction between this determinate and personal God of theism and the current popular conception of a finite God. Because God is not the Unconditioned; because He is not the All; it does not follow that He is finite, like one of our-

selves, only perhaps considerably stronger and wiser than we are. "It is not necessary," as Dr. Tennant pertinently remarks in the latter of the articles referred to, "in order to conceive of God as actual and living, to regard Him (as he, Mr. Wells, seems to do) as a consciousness compounded of the best elements in our consciousness, and destined like 'the social mind' to extinction when humanity shall be no more. It is not necessary, again, to conceive Him as a struggling God who needs our help in order to achieve His purpose; as if the world, to contain a real moral issue, must be capable of defeating its Creator, and His triumph over evil cannot be depended upon until after the event." These are true words of Dr. Tennant, and finely spoken. Indeed this finite God he has described is just no God at all. In leaving the pantheism of the Absolute we have passed into atheism.

Both these distinctions which Dr. Tennant has drawn, we repeat, are perfectly sound, and though they seem quite obvious, they need emphasis at the present time, and Dr. Tennant has done a service in this respect.

But when all this has been said, we feel bound to add that Dr. Tennant has gone too far in his limitations of the omnipotence and infinitude of God.

Take for example the Divine Omnipotence of which Dr. Tennant treats in the first mentioned article. He points out quite correctly that omnipotence in God does not mean absolute and unlimited power to do that which is absurd or impossible. Certainly omnipotence does not include "self-contradictoriness." God, as Dr. Tennant remarks, cannot cause a thing to be both existent and non-existent at the same moment. If God were omnipotent in this sense we would have the old dilemma indicated by the question which Dr. Tennant cites: Could God create a being of such a nature that He could not subsequently destroy it? Either an affirmative or a negative answer to this question is fatal to the above idea of the Divine Omnipotence.

And once more, Dr. Tennant is right in pointing out what he calls the "determinateness" of God's omnipotence. God is limited by His own nature. God is just; He therefore cannot be unjust, nor can He act unjustly. He is holy; therefore He cannot be unholy, nor act in an unholy manner.

All this is true, and should be sufficiently obvious. It is only to say that God is God. Indeed both these limits to God's omnipotence mentioned by Dr. Tennant are really one. The logical no less than the moral limits to the Divine Omnipotence follow from the nature of God whose reason determines the laws of thought no less than whose moral nature determines the laws of morality.

But while all this is true, it is also true that all of the limitations which Dr. Tennant puts upon the Omnipotence of God, do *not* flow from His nature, nor from the laws of thought, nor from the necessary constitution of a moral system, and consequently these limitations to the Divine Omnipotence are inadmissible and really destructive of it. Some of what Dr. Tennant calls moral necessities are not such at all. Thus in his zeal for a Theodicy Dr. Tennant asserts that God could not have made a moral system without evil, and that such a system is self-contradictory; that God could not create free agents whose wills were not independent of all control by Himself, and that such an idea is self-contradictory. Now these ideas, we repeat, are not self-contradictory, nor are the limitations imposed on God by Dr. Tennant rendered necessary by anything in the nature of God, or in the idea of a moral system. A moral system without evil and sin is only self-contradictory or inconceivable if we maintain that the only goodness or virtue consists in victory over sin and temptation. But that this is a false idea of moral goodness, the goodness of God Himself is a sufficient proof. The entrance of sin and evil into the world gives rise to a hard problem, and one that has weighed on the minds of all thoughtful men and baffled the philosophers of all ages. But of one thing we may be sure, and that is that Dr. Tennant's Theodicy is too easy, because a moral system without evil is entirely possible and conceivable. To say, then, that God could not have made a world in which there was no evil, and that He cannot overcome evil as long as a moral system is to exist, is to limit and deny the Divine Omnipotence.

The same is true of Dr. Tennant's assertion that human free agency limits the omnipotence of God. Such an alleged limitation certainly does not flow from the nature of God; and no more does it follow from the nature of free agency.

Such a limitation of God follows from a false idea of the nature of free agency. If man is supposed to have a will which is a faculty or a somewhat inside of him, independent of his nature and character, and independent of God, then to assert human freedom truly does limit God. We go farther than Dr. Tennant and say that such a conception of freedom destroys the omnipotence of God altogether. But not only is this a false conception of free agency, and one psychologically quite indefensible, the entire Biblical doctrine of God's Providence implies that He can and does control the acts of free agents without destroying their freedom. To assert that God cannot do this, is not to place a necessary limitation on His omnipotence; it is to deny and destroy it.

Moreover to pretend, as Dr. Tennant does, that such alleged limitations of God's omnipotence are of a similar nature to those legitimate ones above mentioned, which flow from God's nature, is without warrant. We may not be able to understand how God controls the acts of free agents without destroying their freedom, but this does not render it impossible or incredible. Whereas it is both impossible and incredible that God should make a thing to be both existent and non-existent at the same moment. Multitudes believe the former; no one does or can believe the latter. This fact alone should make Dr. Tennant realize that there is a difference between the two suppositions. But the point we wish to emphasize is that in thus limiting the Divine Omnipotence by matters that do not flow from the nature of God or the laws of thought, Dr. Tennant has destroyed or denied the omnipotence of God.

Precisely the same thing is to be seen in the second of the above mentioned articles, that on "The Conception of a Finite God." Dr. Tennant again is seeking middle ground between the unlimited Absolute of philosophy and the finite God of Mr. Wells, and again we think he goes too far in limiting God. He thinks that the term "infinite" has had no connotations which can be useful in theology, and since he identifies infinity with indeterminateness, he does not believe that God is infinite. We have agreed fully with Dr. Tennant that God is not the unlimited Absolute of speculative philosophy, but differ with him as to the significance of the term infinite

as applied to God. We suppose that it means simply that no limits can be set to the Being and perfections of God, and that it thus expresses a fundamental idea in the Biblical and theistic conception of God, though it is not a Biblical term. If this is the meaning of the term when applied to God, it does not exclude ascribing to God providence and purpose, which ideas Dr. Tennant supposes to conflict with the infinitude of God. But this by the way. We agree with Dr. Tennant that God is not the unlimited and indeterminate Absolute, and that we must ascribe to Him providence and purpose. We shall not take time to quarrel over the use of terms. It is Dr. Tennant's idea of the limits to be put on God which is the matter of importance, and here, we repeat, he has again gone too far.

In the first article it was the omnipotence of God which Dr. Tennant was seeking to limit; in this second article he confines himself again to just one attribute of God, *viz.*, His Omniscience. And as before it was the human will and human freedom which were supposed to limit the Divine Omnipotence; so here it is the human will and human freedom which are supposed to limit the Divine Omniscience. In short, the old and familiar idea meets us that God cannot foreknow the acts of free agents. Here at once appears a limitation of God which does not at all spring from His nature, as in the former article Dr. Tennant professed that all the limitations do which are due to the "determinateness" of God. It is therefore a limitation which conflicts with the idea which Dr. Tennant would apply to God as a substitute for infinity *viz.*, determinateness with perfection. Is it a perfection not to be able to foreknow the acts of free agents? Surely not unless such knowledge involved absurdity or contradiction. Dr. Tennant of course supposes it does involve a contradiction because such acts he thinks are unknowable. But this again is not true unless we make the unwarranted assumption that for an act to be free, it must be entirely uncertain as to its occurrence, or in other words, that contingency is essential to free agency. But this is not the case. An act may be free as to its mode of occurrence, and certain as to the fact of its futuration. The foreknowledge by God, then, of human acts is not inconsistent with human free agency, and so this limita-

tion which Dr. Tennant puts on God's omniscience is an unwarranted limitation of God, and destroys the idea of "perfection" which Dr. Tennant would ascribe to God instead of infinity.

Of course in a sense there can be no foreknowledge with God. As Dr. Tennant says, all past, present, and future is an eternal now or present for God. But his limitation of God remains nevertheless unchanged, for that part of the "eternal now" which lies in the future to us men, is hidden from the knowledge of God, according to Dr. Tennant, in so far as it concerns the acts of free agents.

Perhaps it were well for a God who is not omnipotent that he should not be omniscient, for a knowledge of a future over which He had no control might be a source of grief or terror, and so the blessedness of God would also be limited. Perhaps it were well for men that a God who is not omniscient should not be omnipotent, for a Being all powerful and yet half blind would be indeed a dangerous menace to mankind. But the God of the Bible and of the best theistic philosophy is all blessed, all powerful, all wise, and all good. We think that Dr. Tennant in seeking to escape from the unlimited Absolute of transcendental metaphysics, has gone too far in the direction of the advocates of a finite God.

And what, finally, is the hope which belief in this God of Dr. Tennant's holds for mankind of final victory over evil? Not the hope of the New Testament that Almighty God by His Spirit is saving the world, and that this victory will at last be complete; but simply that in creating the world a moral system, it was in some way, not further explained, arranged so that goodness should have an inherent quality which makes it gradually get the better of evil. But this is not a well grounded hope. Goodness is not a something apart from a will either Divine or human. If our hope is not to be in ourselves it must be in God. Although Dr. Tennant has not fallen so low in his conception of God as has Mr. Wells, surely he has approached very near to the God of Deism.

Princeton.

C. W. HODGE.

REVIEWS OF RECENT LITERATURE

APOLOGETICAL THEOLOGY

The Verification of Christianity. Introductory Studies in Christian Apologetics, By LOUIS MATTHEWS SWEET, S.T.D., Ph.D., Professor in The Bible Teachers' Training School of New York City; Author of "The Birth and Infancy of Jesus Christ." "The Study of The English Bible," "Roman Emperor Worship," etc. 8 vo. Pp. 323. Boston: Richard G. Badger. The Gorham Press. 1920.

This book "consists of a group of closely related studies converging upon a single point, the verification of the Christian religion as the true and divine interpretation of human life and as the fulfilment of human destiny." "It is strictly introductory. In the final analysis, the verification of Christianity is every man's task for himself. One can do no more than to point out the path along which his own thought has travelled toward conviction."

This Dr. Sweet does in nine chapters, the subjects of which are as follows: "The Task of the Modern Apologist," "The Psychological Factors in the Structure of the Bible," "The Process of Verification," "Christianity as a Psychological Fact," "Christianity as a Psychological Fact" (cont.), "Christianity and History," "The Appeal to Christian Experience," "Christianity and Human Life," "Christianity and Unbelieving Scientists."

A "Bibliography" of seventy-three books which the writer has found specially helpful to himself, and an "Index" complete the volume.

These chapters are all carefully prepared, up-to-date, illuminating, and convincing. Indeed, while the last is, perhaps, the most interesting and suggestive, it is difficult to discriminate between them and pick out this or that for criticism, whether favorable or adverse. The reviewer, therefore, will venture but two remarks, and these somewhat general: 1. Our author's fundamental apologetic principle is not only sound, but worthy of emphasis. This principal is that Christianity must be defended by showing that "the facts are on its side." True refutation is to be "achieved, not by brilliancy of argument nor superficial cleverness in debate, but by the solidity of the statement built up, fortified, and buttressed by facts." That is, scholarship is the apologetic need of the hour—scholarship like that of Origen, in his controversy with Celsus—scholarship like that of Bishop Lightfoot when he exposed the superficiality of the attack on Christianity entitled "Supernatural Religion"—scholarship like that of Sir William M. Ramsay whose defence of the traditional view of early Christianity was "the outcome of investigation not to prove any-

thing nor to disprove anything, but simply to ascertain the facts." And this scholarship should be as wide as thorough. It should embrace especially religious psychology. But why describe further? Dr. Sweet has given in this last book of his a fine example of the kind of apologetics that he would exalt. By the contrast between this modest treatise of his and the mass of apologetic literature, he demonstrates that "we have had too many rhetoricians and stump speakers in this undertaking," and that our need is "a new generation of consecrated, tireless, Christian scholars."

2. We regret our author's avowed tendency toward "concessive apologetics" (p. 23). He would defend "the essence of Christianity" and "that alone." But what is "the essence of Christianity"? It certainly is not what Harnach would have us take it to be. Moreover, is the distinction between the essential and the unessential in Christianity a valid distinction? Christianity is in the highest sense a system; and while the elements of a system differ in importance, they are all essential in that they are all needed. It is this that distinguishes a system from an aggregation. A system has not an irreducible minimum within itself; it itself is an irreducible minimum. This being so, it cannot be defended by concessions. It is in this case as in actual warfare. To call in the outposts is always regarded as an admission of weakness, and the fate of the citadel may often depend on holding them. A full-orbed Christianity is the only one that can be maintained permanently. The existence of God is more fundamental than any theory of the will, but there are theories of the will which make it impossible to believe in God. It is true that "one event, one fact would be sufficient, provided it is great enough and broad enough and of sufficient solidity to bear the weight which the Gospel perforce is compelled to put upon it" (p. 183): but it is also true that unless the historicity and inerrancy of the narrative be admitted, there will be endless debate as to the reality and the significance of that event. But enough. This criticism is addressed not to Dr. Sweet, but to a vicious method of apologetics. He himself does not adopt it. On the contrary, he again and again delights us by his firm hold of evangelical positions. Indeed, as in the former case we found him himself to be the best illustration of the apologetics that we would commend, so in this case he is himself the best refutation of a kind of defense that he affirms himself to favor. We hope that this book will be widely read and carefully studied.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

Reason and Belief. By SIR OLIVER LODGE, LL.D., D.Sc., F.R.S., Author of "Raymond," "The Survival of Man," "Man and The Universe," etc. 8 vo. Pp. ix, 166. New York: George H. Doran Company. 1910.

"The position taken in this book," the author tells us, "is the result of a lifetime of scientific study; and its basis is one of fact." The purpose of the writer is "to indicate to the best of his ability how

matters stand so far as his own researches have led him to perceive a profound substratum of truth underlying ancient doctrines, and in so far as the progress of science instead of undermining illustrates and illumines some of them."

This purpose is carried out along the following three lines: "Part I of this book deals with the subject of incarnation in general, and ultimately leads up to a brief consideration of the momentous Christian doctrine—The Incarnation." "Part II furnishes hints and suggestions for the effective treating of the Old Testament in the light of the doctrine of Evolution." "Part III is of the nature of Apologia and anticipatory reply to critics."

On this discussion as a whole—able, interesting, and instructive, as might have been expected from its author—the reviewer would remark, on the one hand:

1. The position which Sir Oliver Lodge would illustrate and illumine is not that of historic Christianity. For example, he has little use for "the Thirty Nine Articles" or the "Westminster Confession" (p. 72). So, too, while he holds to "Inspiration," he insists that it "does not mean infallibility" (p. 81). Again, his tendency is to naturalize the Supernatural to the point of endangering its uniqueness (p. 81). A miracle, he would maintain, has been "illustrated and illumined" when it has been referred to some law of nature.

2. It is not questionable whether this tendency is or is not a desirable one. It is certain that it is not. So far from having been illustrated and illuminated when it has been referred to some law of nature, the fact that the miracle is above and beyond nature, that is, the essential fact, is by such illustration and illumination obscured, if not denied. What needs to be brought out is that the miracle is so clearly and necessarily not the result of natural processes that it must reveal directly the Supernatural and so be the sign of God's immediate revelation of himself. The "analogy of nature" is very useful, as Bishop Butler has conclusively shown; but to be useful, it must be employed as he has employed it. Its purpose must be to establish the reasonableness of the Supernatural, not to explain away its uniqueness.

On the other hand, the reviewer should observe, and he is glad to observe:

1. Our distinguished author deserves the highest praise for his insistence on the rights of the religious and of the aesthetic nature. He is no positivist. Exact scientist though he is, he will not admit that all knowledge, or the most important knowledge, comes by induction from sensations. He believes that imagination has a place in science, and not an insignificant one either. He honors faith when it can give a reason for itself, and he is far from demanding that that reason shall always be one that can be weighed and measured.

2. We are glad to believe that Sir Oliver Lodge worships with us the divine Christ. Indeed, there is much in his discussion of the advent and the incarnation of our Lord that satisfies and instructs us.

He believes in his pre-existence; he believes in his deity; he receives him as "the Word of God," the eternal revealer of the Father (p. 64); but he does not go far enough; he would not seem to have any vision of the cross; he accepts the incarnation, but he does not see that it was in order to redemption.

3. Quite in keeping with his principles of research and of interpretation is the wealth of quotation from the poets. If Sir Oliver Lodge had not been a great scientist, he would have been known as a great master of literature; and this adds not a little to the interest, and we believe, to the value of his writings.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

Spiritualism and The Word of God. A Sermon by CLARENCE EDWARD MACARTNEY, The Arch Street Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Pa., Pampt., pp. 20. Eakins, Palmer and Harrar, 112 North 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 25 cents the copy.

This is a very timely and altogether satisfactory discussion. It is timely, because of the propaganda being carried on in the name of science in the interest of spiritualism, and it is satisfactory because it appeals directly to the supreme authority for the Christian, the Word of God. We wish that this sermon could be preached in every church throughout the world. There could hardly be a better exposure of the triviality, the comfortlessness, and the danger of spiritualism.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

SYSTEMATICAL THEOLOGY

The Christian Doctrine of Faith. Edited by JAMES HASTINGS, D.D., New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1919. Pp. 419.

This is one of a series of volumes on "The Great Christian Doctrines" edited by Dr. Hastings. The volume on "The Christian Doctrine of Prayer" has already been published. The present volume, like the one on Prayer, is to a large extent the work of Dr. Hastings himself. It is his plan to construct the outline of each chapter, to write a paragraph under each head, and then to follow this with long quotations, some of which are statements of the doctrinal points in question, and others of which are illustrations of them.

The author's purpose is to furnish material for sermons and popular lectures. He thinks, as he tells us in the Preface, that there is a gulf between class-room lectures on systematic theology and the work of making sermons. The note books on theological lectures, Dr. Hastings thinks, are principally useful, or at least used, for the "exit examinations," while the young preacher begins to spin sermons out of his head or to use homiletical helps of doubtful value. Dr. Hastings aims, as he says, to bridge this gulf, and furnish useful material for

the young preacher. Accordingly, as he says, this volume is neither a theological treatise nor a volume of sermons.

Whether or not this is the best way to make sermons may be an open question. Some may think that the preacher had better study for himself the best critical and exegetical commentaries and strictly scientific works on systematic theology, and then do the work of popularizing the material himself. We think he would be a stronger and better preacher if he did so. Nevertheless it remains a fact that many, perhaps most preachers will not do this, and for all who will not or cannot, this volume of Dr. Hastings is infinitely better than the ordinary homiletical helps written without the theological background which Dr. Hastings possesses.

But when we have said this, we have said too little in praise of this volume. It has its own value as a popular theological presentation of a great Christian doctrine. Though not a theological treatise, it is written with considerable theological insight. Moreover the illustrations used are in many cases striking and useful, not only for the making of sermons, but also for bringing out Christian truth in a popular way.

There is, however, some want of clearness and definiteness of statement, due perhaps to the effort to make the treatment popular and avoid all technicalities. How, for example, is religious faith to be distinguished from ordinary faith or faith as used in everyday life? Does the distinction not lie in the object of faith and in the source of the testimony or evidence on which faith rests, and not in any difference in degree of subjective certitude, as Dr. Hastings seems to suppose? What, again, are the specific marks of saving faith as distinct from general religious faith, and what is the relation of Divine Grace and man's faith? On such questions as these we could desire clearer statements than we find in this book. But on the question of how faith saves, Dr. Hastings speaks with clearness and truth. The saving power of faith resides not in itself, but in the Saviour upon whom faith rests. Dr. Hastings tells us to look to God for salvation, and not to ourselves. This is fundamental for true religion, and if he shall reach many with this message, his book will do a great service.

Dr. Hastings does not confine himself to Christian faith or to religious faith. He deals also with faith as an epistemological principle, with faith in one's self and in one's fellow men. Some idea of the wide range of topics treated, as well as of the systematic method followed, may be had by mentioning these topics in their sequence. Dr. Hastings treats of faith in one's self; faith in men; the range or scope of faith and the "venture of faith"; faith in God; faith in Jesus; faith in Christ as Saviour; degrees of faith; assurance of faith; the foundation of faith; the confirmation of faith; Justification by faith; Sanctification by faith; and the element of personality in faith, both in its subject and object.

Princeton.

C. W. HODGE.

Christ's Second Coming. The Pre-Millennial View Shown to be Untrue from the Standpoint of Scripture. By J. M. STANFIELD, Published by J. M. Stanfield, Cleveland, Tenn., 1919. Pp. 86.

Mr. Stanfield's pamphlet is a refutation of the Pre-Millennial view of the Second Advent, and a defense of the Post-Millennial view, based upon his interpretation of the Scripture, which interpretation we believe to be correct in its broad outlines. Where so many Scripture passages are expounded in detail, it is natural that we should dissent from some of the details of the author's exegesis. We believe, however, that his exegetical method is sound as against a false literalism.

Princeton.

C. W. HODGE.

Jewish Theology. Systematically and Historically Considered. By DR. K. KOHLER, President of Hebrew Union College. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918. 8vo., pp. x, 505. Price, \$2.50.

This volume by the President of the Hebrew Union College at Cincinnati is intended to be an authoritative statement of the theological views of the reform Jews in this country. As such it is of no little interest to the evangelical Christian who is eager to know what the viewpoint of these Jewish liberals is and whether the reform movement which they represent can be regarded as in any sense an approximation toward the evangelical faith. The answer to this important question may be briefly stated as follows. The reform Jew accepts all the main conclusions of the higher criticism as applied to the Old Testament, as well as the rationalistic bias which has been so largely responsible for the character of these conclusions. As far as the Old Testament is concerned it would be hard to distinguish the liberal Jew from the liberal Gentile unless it be by the racial pride shown by the former in Judaism as the religion of his fathers. In his attitude toward the New Testament the reform Jew is as much the enemy of the Gospel as is the orthodox Jew. The Cross of Christ is the same stumbling block to him that it is to his orthodox brethren. With the higher critic who allows the antisupernaturalistic methods and principles which he has applied to the Old Testament to have free rein in his treatment of the New, the reform Jew has consequently much in common. For if the Cross is a stumbling block to the Jew it is foolishness to the Greek. The theological liberal may therefore welcome this book as a proof that the liberal Jew is prepared to unite with the liberal Christian on the basis of Unitarianism. The evangelical Christian cannot fail to see in such an overture a menace and a challenge which he must meet by insisting more strongly than ever that the preaching of the Cross is the power of God unto salvation. In fact the evangelical Christian has more in common with the orthodox Jew than with the reform Jew. For while the former accepts the authority of the Old Testament, however much he may misinterpret its deepest truths, the latter rejects that authority and accepts only so much of the Old Testament as he can use for his rationalistic reconstruction of the history of religion.

Since this statement, that reform Judaism is more strongly anti-

Christian and anti-evangelical than orthodox Judaism, will be an unwelcome one to those who are hoping that reform Judaism is a sign that Israel's redemption is at hand, it will be well for us to give some account of the teachings of reform Judaism that the reader may satisfy himself that the view taken by the present writer is warranted by the statements of one of its foremost theologians.

Dr. Kohler informs us in the Preface that he undertook the preparation of this work "with the understanding that it should be written from the view-point of historical research" and he states that he conceives of Judaism as "the result of a dynamic process of growth and development." That his view is radically different from that of orthodox Judaism he candidly admits and despite his effort to be "just and fair to conservative Judaism" he does not disguise the fact that he considers it hopelessly at variance with modern thought and the historical view-point. His aim is to meet the "new demand for a Jewish theology by which the Jew can comprehend his own religious truths in the light of modern thought and at the same time defend them against the aggressive attitude of the ruling religious sects" (p. 3). For Jewish theology "can no more afford to ignore the established results of modern linguistic, ethnological, and historical research, of Biblical criticism and comparative religion, than it can the undisputed facts of natural science, however much any of these may conflict with the Biblical view of the cosmos" (p. 4). Of orthodox Judaism he remarks, "The idea of gradual development is precluded by its conception of divine revelation, by its doctrine that both the oral and written Torah were given at Sinai complete and unchangeable for all time" (p. 11). "Our modern historical view, however, includes all human thought and belief; it therefore rejects altogether the assumption of a supernatural origin of either the written or the oral Torah, and insists that the subject of prophecy, revelation, and inspiration in general be studied in the light of psychology and ethnology, of general history and comparative religion" (p. 24). For divine revelation, Dr. Kohler substitutes the Jewish people's "peculiar religious bent" and he reduces revelation to the "unique and profound insight into the moral nature of the Deity," which was possessed by "its leading spirits" (p. 39). Judaism is the product of the "religious genius of the Jew" and this Dr. Kohler assures us falls within the domain of ethnic psychology concerning which science still gropes in the dark, but which progressive Judaism is bound to recognize in its effects throughout the ages" (p. ix.). He does not hesitate to assert that Judaism "far from being the late product of the Torah and tradition, as it is often considered, was actually the creator of the Law" (p. 11). Mosaism, he assures us, was henotheistic not monotheistic, as the Pentateuch asserts. "It is perfectly clear that divine pedagogy could not have demanded of a people immature and untrained in religion, like Israel in the wilderness period, the immediate belief in the only one God and in none else. Such a belief is the result of a long mental process; it is attained only after centuries of severe struggle and crisis" (p. 82).

The more conservative of the liberal Jews draw the line at the Pentateuch and refuse to allow it to be subjected to critical investigation. Dr. Kohler makes no such distinction between the different parts of the Old Testament and is apparently a thorough-going Wellhausenian and in view of his attitude toward the Pentateuch it does not surprise us when for example he refers to the book of Daniel as "a work of the Maccabean time" (p. 182).

Thus, in common with all critics of the Wellhausen School, Dr. Kohler insists that there is in the Old Testament a fundamental and irreconcilable difference between Prophetism and Legalism: "It is necessary to distinguish two opposite fundamental tendencies: the one expressing the spirit of legalistic nationalism, the other of ethical or prophetic universalism" (p. 13). "The great prophets of Israel alone recognized that the entire sacrificial system was out of harmony with the true spirit of Judaism and led to all sorts of abuses, above all to a misconception of the worship of God, which requires the uplifting of the heart" (p. 264). And he speaks of the prophetic influence "with its loathing of all sacrificial blood" (p. 50). "Reform Judaism, recognizing the results of Biblical research and the law of religious progress, adopted the prophetic view of the sacrifices. Accordingly, the sacrificial cult of the Mosaic code has no validity for the liberal movement, and all reference to it has been eliminated from the reform liturgy" (p. 269). This of course logically leads us to a denial of the necessity of atonement for sin. And Dr. Kohler tells us that all that is required is that the sinner shall repent, *i.e.* return unto God: "The Jewish idea of atonement by the sinner's return to God excludes every kind of mediatorship. Neither the priesthood nor sacrifice is necessary to secure the divine grace: man need only find the way to God by his own efforts" (p. 247). This Dr. Kohler believes that every man is able to do: "The optimistic spirit of Judaism cannot tolerate the idea that mortal man is hopelessly lost under the burden of his sins, or that he need ever lose faith in himself. No one can sink so low that he cannot find his way back to his heavenly Father by untiring self-discipline" (p. 251, cf. p. 467). It would be well for the Christian who is inclined to accept the conclusions of criticism to consider carefully where the acceptance of the theory of a contradiction between the "Law" and the "Prophets" as to the validity of sacrifice—this contradiction is a "fundamental" of criticism—leads before he accepts it. It leads directly to the rejection of the doctrine of the vicarious atonement of Christ.

Dr. Kohler's great desire is obviously to bring Judaism up to date. "If Judaism is to retain its prominent position among the powers of thought, and to be clearly understood by the modern world, it must again reshape its religious truths in harmony with the dominant ideas of the age" (p. 27). That the dominant ideas of the age are frankly antisupernaturalistic is to himself self-evident. He accepts "the teaching of modern science, of the gradual ascent of man through all the stages of animal life" (p. 211). The phrase "the fall of man" can refer he

thinks only to "the inner experience of the individual. . . . It cannot refer to mankind as a whole for the human race has never experienced a fall, nor is it affected by original or hereditary sin" (p. 225). "At any rate, Judaism recognizes no sin which does not arise from the individual conscience or moral personality" (p. 243). As to miracles he tells us: "The fact is that miracles occur only among people who are ignorant of natural law and thus predisposed to accept marvels. They are the product of human imagination and credulity. They have only a subjective, not an objective value. They are psychological, not physical facts" (p. 164). What applies to miracles applies equally to prayer. Although he assures us that "The traditional Jewish prayer has certainly a wondrous force" (p. 269), Dr. Kohler attaches to it as to miracles subjective and not objective value. It is childish to expect answers to prayer. "According to our modern thinking there can be no question of any influence upon a Deity exalted above time and space, omniscient, unchangeable in will and action, by the prayer of mortals. Prayer can exert power only over the relation of man to God, not over God Himself" (p. 274). It is ultimately "self-expression before God." Sin is a great evil; but man is at all times thoroughly master of the situation. Sin "ever remains merely a going astray from the right path, a stumbling from which man may arise again to his heavenly height, exerting his own powers as the son of God" (p. 245). Dr. Kohler believes in the immortality of the soul, while rejecting the idea of a bodily resurrection (p. 297). He believes with Maimonides that if the soul "sinks into the sensuousness of earthly existence, then it is cut off from eternal life; it suffers annihilation like the beast" (p. 308). For those "who strive and soar heavenward . . . to love God and practice virtue is itself true bliss." "Modern man knows that he bears heaven and hell within his own bosom" and that death apparently either means annihilation or "marks the transition to a higher goal for greater accomplishment" (p. 308f.)

These quotations will suffice to show that Dr. Kohler has succeeded quite well in his effort to bring reform Judaism abreast of modern liberal thinking. They are equally convincing proof of the fundamental difference between reform Judaism and evangelical Christianity.

It is of course not to be expected that a system of theology which is so frankly naturalistic and anthropocentric in its teachings, would present many points of contact with essential Christianity. The difference is too fundamental: the gap cannot be bridged. The Gospel is in its very essence supernaturalistic and theocentric, a message of salvation through a divine Savior. It is in his attitude toward Christ that we see how thoroughly anti-Christian is Dr. Kohler's theological system. "The life of Jesus is wrapt," he assures us, "in legends which may be reduced to the following historical elements" and he proceeds to give in about a page a purely naturalistic account of the life of Jesus (p. 434). Paul misinterpreted Jesus and "constructed a theological system far more pagan than Jewish in type" (p. 437). To sum it all up succinctly, "the Church deified its Messiah and thus re-

lapsed into paganism" (p. 385). However much Dr. Kohler may differ as regards the Old Testament teachings with the orthodox Jews, as far as the essentials of Christianity are concerned he is a typical Jew. It is only a Christianity from which the offence of the Cross has been removed with which he can have any sympathy. The type of Christianity with which he is most familiar and with which he has much in common is as we should expect liberal Christianity—Christianity so called, though it has rejected Christ in his Deity and Saviorhood. D. F. Strauss and Bousset are two of the writers from whom he quotes most frequently.

Yet Dr. Kohler tries hard to be irenic and cosmopolitan, a truly liberal theologian. He tells us that "Judaism lays claim, not to perfection but to perfectability" and assures us that "Judaism denies most emphatically the right of Christianity or any other religion to arrogate to itself the title of 'the absolute religion'" (p. 18). But on the other hand he does not hesitate to assert that "Progressive Judaism of our own time has the great task of re-emphasizing Israel's world-mission and of reclaiming for Judaism its place as the priesthood of humanity. . . . It must outlast all other religions in its certainty that ultimately there can be but the one religion, uniting God and man by a single bond" (p. 51). "Well may we say: the mediator between God and the world is *man*, the son of God: the mediator between God and humanity is *Israel*, the people of God" (p. 205). The "Suffering Servant" of Isaiah LIII is Israel (p. 367f., 377, 389). This is of course however much Dr. Kohler may seek to tone it down in the interest of a concessive and generous minded liberalism, a practical assertion that Judaism, that is, reform Judaism, is to be and must be the religion of the future.

It should be noted that Dr. Kohler is not a political Zionist and is strongly opposed to the narrow nationalistic aims which it fosters. "Zionism has become the watchword of all those who hope for a political restoration of the Jewish people on Palestinian soil, as well as of others whose longings are of a more cultural nature." He opposes them because: "Both regard the Jewish people as a nation like any other, denying to it the scientific character of a priest-people and a holy nation with a religious mission for humanity, which has been assigned to it at the beginnings of its history, and has served to preserve it through the centuries" (p. 390). Dr. Kohler seems to regard this revival of nationalism a positive menace to the fulfilment of Israel's religious mission.

A book which sets forth in some detail a complete theological system cannot be adequately criticized in the course of a book review. We have endeavored to point out what seems to us the true significance of this book for the evangelical Christian. We believe that it shows the entire inadequacy of reform Judaism to meet the need of the sinful human heart. A religion which owes its vitality to its "adaptability," to its "unique capacity for development" (p. 447) and which in order not to be hopelessly old-fashioned has to be restated in terms which

make its history a series of contradictions, can never speak with finality. It substitutes human speculation for divine authority, the sanction of the shifting modern view-point, for the tremendous certitude, "thus saith the Lord." Its "yea and amen" of today may be its "anathema" of tomorrow. And men want finality, and certainty when they face the deep and ultimate problems of life and death, duty and destiny, sin and salvation. This, reform Judaism cannot give them. It does not "claim to offer the final or absolute truth." Men also want help; and a religion of self-help and self-sufficiency, however flattering to man's pride and self-righteousness has no message for the sin-sick and despairing. Reform Judaism will appeal strongly to the ninety and nine "just persons" who needs as they think no repentance. But for the "sinner" it has no message. Its doctrine of self-help is an affront to his helplessness and offers no relief from the burden of his sin. For one ensnared in "the sensuousness of earthly existence" it is no comfort to be told that "he will suffer annihilation like the beast," unless he is constantly "striving toward the highest." For that is the one thing which it is impossible for him to do. Reform Judaism is emphatically not a religion of redemption. For the "down and out," it has no message for they cannot help themselves. It is the glory of Christianity that it is a religion, *the* religion of redemption. To the helpless and despairing sinner it comes in "sovereign, eternal, unchangeable love" ready to save unto the uttermost through the grace which God supplies in his eternal Son.

It will be recalled that one of the results of Moses Mendelssohn's attempt over a century ago to liberalize and rationalize Judaism was that almost all his immediate descendants left the Synagogue for the Church. Mendelssohn stood as Dr. Kohler tells us "at the beginning of the new era." "In the Mendelssohnian circle the impression prevailed, as we are told, that Judaism consists of a system of forms, but is substantially no religion at all" (p. viii). What wonder then that Mendelssohn's descendants became Christians! Dr. Kohler assures us that reform Judaism is not a religion of redemption. As he describes it, it is little more than a religiously colored doctrine of self-help. It is in this very fact that true Christianity finds and should recognize its unique opportunity: not, to compromise with reform Judaism; but, to offer to the reform Jew who is vainly seeking to save himself the Gospel of Salvation through the Lord Jesus Christ.

Princeton.

OSWALD T. ALLIS.

EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY

The Book of Genesis. By SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament in the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago. Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Co.

This little volume is one in the "Biblical and Oriental Series," whose object is "to make the results of expert investigation accessible to

laymen." "Each volume constitutes a unit, and is planned as a guide to eight months' work of an hour or more a day." After some directions to the student, among them directions to provide himself with four or five other books as helps, there follow 232 Studies, consisting each of a list of passages in the Bible and in the helps to be read, of some brief statements and comments, and of questions to be answered in writing. The compilation seems to be well done from the point of view of the author.

The aim of the work is not to acquaint the student with the book of Genesis so much as with how the school of critics who reject the historicity of the book may yet get religious value from it. If a student will work through these studies and accept their teachings, he will know a great deal about the contents of Genesis, much more about the theories and arguments of this school of critics, and next to nothing about the contrary views and the reasons for them. Indeed he will suppose that all intelligent people have given up belief in the historical trustworthiness of the book. At the same time, if he accepts the theory of Dr. Mercer—the high Anglican view,—that the Church has authority and is able to guard its children against the errors of its sacred books, he will have the same faith in the Church with which he began, less faith in the Bible, and more faith in the spiritual ingenuity of the critics.

It would be well if critical scholars who believe in the historicity of the Scriptures would prepare such guides to study, as didactically able as this, only giving their readers more direct contact with the books of Scripture and less with even their truer theories about Scripture.

New York City.

F. P. RAMSAY.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

A Book About the English Bible. By JOSIAH PENNIMAN, Professor of English Literature in the University of Pennsylvania. New York. The Macmillan Company. Cloth, 12 mo. Pp. 444. Price, \$2.25.

This admirable handbook will prove of interest and helpfulness to all who desire to study the Bible from the view-point of literature, as indeed the greatest English classic. The author deals with the book as a whole and with its separate parts, with fine literary discrimination and with an appreciation of the content and message of the individual books. After discussing the sources and background of the Old Testament and the New, the writer deals with the poetic forms and sources of imagery and then outlines the content of the different books. He then adds a series of chapters dealing with the history of the Bible as translated into the English languages, considering the various versions including a chapter on "Modern Revisions of the English Bible, 1881 to 1917."

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

Studies in Mark's Gospel. BY PROFESSOR A. T. ROBERTSON, M.A., D.D., LL.D., Chair of New Testament Interpretation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky. New York: The Macmillan Co. Cloth, 12 mo. Pp. 146. Price, \$1.25 net.

The various chapters of this book appeared originally as articles in different publications. They form neither a commentary nor an exposition, but cover many aspects of the Gospel. Some of the discussions are of popular interest while others are excursions into the fields of textual and literary criticism. The book forms a helpful introduction to the Gospel of Mark. The topics treated are as follows: "The Making of John Mark," "The Date of Mark's Gospel and the Synoptic Problem," "Peter's Influence on Mark's Gospel," "The Miraculous Element in Mark's Gospel," "The Christ in Mark's Gospel," "Jesus in Mark's Gospel," "The Exemplar for Preachers," "The Parables of Jesus in Mark's Gospel," "The Teachings of Jesus in Mark's Gospel," "The Disputed Close of Mark's Gospel."

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

A First Book in Catechism: Stories about Jesus.

A Second Book in Catechism: Stories about Jesus' Church. BY PROF. JOHN E. KUIZENGA, Grand Rapids, Michigan. Eerdmans-Sevensma Co. Paper, 8vo. Pp. 93, 103. Price 35 cents per copy.

These little stories, based on material from the Gospel and the Acts, are designed for the instruction of children below nine years of age. Both series are in very simple language and in conventional style. The second series is intended for children a little more advanced and follows the order of time more closely than the first, which groups the "Stories of Jesus' early Life," "Some of the Wonders Jesus Did," "Some of the Stories Jesus Told," and "Some Wonderful Things that Happened to Jesus."

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

Jesus and the Young Man of Today. BY JOHN M. HOLMES, New York: The Macmillan Co. Cloth, 16 mo. Pp. 170. Price \$1.00.

It is a rather pathetic comment on the religious conditions of the times that a denial of the supernatural is deemed a necessary requisite in finding the proper approach to the mind of the young man of today. Such a denial is the outstanding feature of this little book which was designed as a "restatement of faith" to meet the "requirements of reason" as well as of the heart. It will seem to many to be a simple and rather superficial restatement of the rationalistic attacks upon the Gospels which have become familiar during the past few years. It will only be necessary to intimate what the writer affirms, or rather denies, in reference to the person and work of Christ, and relative to the general character of the Gospel narratives. For instance, as to the person of Christ, the writer believes "When we use the word divine regarding Jesus, it has for us the same meaning as when we say that we believe there is a germ of the divine latent in all humanity . . ." The writer believes furthermore that "every human

being has that divine spark in him and that in essence it is the same as the divine in Jesus. The difference between him and us is a difference in degree." (pp. 161-162.) Even the sinlessness of Christ is denied in the ordinary sense of that phrase. "To be absolutely good, however, means that a man must have absolute knowledge. He must know what is the final standard of right and wrong even to the end of time. Jesus did not confess to have absolute knowledge. 'God alone,' said Jesus, 'possesses such absolute knowledge and He alone is absolutely good.'"

The writer denies the historic character of the Gospel of John. He insists that the temptation, baptism and transfiguration of Christ are mere parables and declares that Jesus was "mistaken in his ideas of demoniac possession," and "in the apocalyptic dreams recorded in Mark 13." The writer "does not believe that Jesus actually walked on the water; that five thousand people were physically fed with only five loaves and two small fishes; that the tempest was quieted by a word;" but he does believe "that the lame walked, the deaf heard, and in some cases the blind saw, and 'demons' were cast out, just as such cases are affected by natural psychological causes today" (p. 165).

Therefore, as might be expected, the writer absolutely denies the supreme miracle, namely, the resurrection of our Lord. He does believe in the continued existence of Christ but denies the resurrection of the body and gives no explanation of the empty tomb. (p. 146). It is unnecessary to discuss further these brief chapters which in their attempted naturalistic interpretation of the Gospel story utterly destroy its real character and tend only to undermine faith in historic Christianity.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

Evangelism in The Remaking of the World. By Bishop ADNA WRIGHT LEONARD. The Methodist Book Concern. Price \$1.00.

This is a series of lectures delivered at the University of Southern California, by Bishop Leonard, of the Methodist Church. It is an earnest plea for the church to be faithful to her commission and preach the Gospel, in the home, the school, the college, the pulpit. Professional, itinerating, tabernacle evangelists are rebuked. The bishop quotes some world traveller to the effect that "Methodism in some quarters shows a marked tendency towards Unitarianism," and wishes that the statement were wholly wrong. Almost any book written by an earnest minister to other ministers can be read with interest and profit by ministers, and this book is no exception. The author very early, and very happily, gets away from his announced subject, *The Remaking of the World*, and deals with the work of the church of Christ in remaking men and bringing them into fellowship with Jesus Christ. In the first chapter there is a very striking sentence from 'Gipsy' Smith, who when asked by the author what was the great defect of American ministers answered, "The American preachers have

lost their power of appeal." That this sad indictment is true, whatever be the cause of it, no one who is hearing or reading many of the sermons of the day can doubt. The sermons of the day are comments, thoughts upon other men's thoughts, pleasant and vague surmises, but the ring of appeal, of persuasion, is absent.

Philadelphia.

CLARENCE EDWARD MACARTNEY.

The Spectrum of Religion. BY LOREN M. EDWARDS, New York: The Methodist Book Concern. Cloth, 12 mo. Pp. 159. Price 75 cents net.

The chapters of this book are based upon replies to a questionnaire addressed to some two hundred people of all sorts and conditions. They are designed to teach what the man in the street thinks of religion. They show the irresistible longings of the human heart for fellowship with God as revealed in the answers which speak of the absolute necessity of faith in an unseen father. The author further, in view of these replies, insists upon the absolute need of a religious experience, however this may be defined, which in its essence must be a spiritual renewal, a new birth. He further shows religion to be a continual struggle against tendencies which are recognized as being evil and debasing; but a struggle which can lead to peace and joy and triumph in Christ. He further emphasizes the need of a religion which expresses itself in act, of creed which determines conduct, of faith which justifies itself in works. True religion is also tested by the use of wealth made by those who profess the name of Christ. The author finally shows the necessity of the Christian Church as the society and agency by which truth can be maintained and propagated. The book closes with a chapter dealing with the Christian belief in immortality.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

Building the Congregation. BY WILLIAM C. SKEETH. New York: The Methodist Book Concern. Cloth, 16 mo. Pp. 63, Price 50 cents net.

This minute booklet deals with a large and practical problem in which every modern minister is deeply interested. The question faced is that of building a "congregation" in contrast to the assembling of an "audience." The discussion is essentially "a study of appeals," and suggests the widest methods to be employed in securing a permanent attendance upon the services of the church. The author deals with the psychology of good advertising, and shows that the appeal which will be permanently effective must be one which is addressed to the fundamental elements in the religious nature of man, in contrast with those which arouse curiosity by the announcement of occasional attractions or sensations.

Studies in Comradeship: Old Testament.

Studies in Comradeship: New Testament. BY THEODORE GERALD SOARES. New York Association Press. Flexible cloth, 16 mo. Pp. 145, 105, Price 60 cents per copy.

These little studies were intended for the use of American soldiers

in their camps overseas, and were considered helpful in preparing for the experiences awaiting the soldiers on their return home. From a theological or even a religious standpoint they are not to be considered seriously, or critized severely; but they incarnate courage, loyalty, purity, patriotism, and a certain imitation of Christ. They outline daily studies for periods of nine and eight weeks respectively. They cover a wide range of topics; the material is presented so as to arouse interest and to awaken thought.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

The Early Christian Books. By W. J. FERRAR, M.A., London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. New York: The Macmillan Co. Cloth, 12 mo. Pp. 108.

This helpful volume in the series of "Handbooks of Christian Literature" forms a short introduction to "Christian literature to the middle of the Second Century." It is designed to aid in the knowledge of these early Christian writings with a further view of establishing faith in historic Christianity. Among the other documents which are treated may be mentioned the "Epistles" of Clement, Ignatius and Polycarp, "The Teaching of The Apostles," "The Epistle of Barnabas," "The Shepherd of Hermas," "The Epistle of Diognetus." There is also a treatment of the "gnostic systems," the Apocryphal Books, Justin Martyr and the "Apology of Aristides." The discussion and outlines are in all cases very brief, but they are clear and comprehensive and as the Bishop of London asserts in the Foreword, "The information which is given is certain to be trustworthy."

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

Religious Education in the Church. By HENRY FREDERICK COPE, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1918. Pp. viii, 274.

The School in the Modern Church. By HENRY FREDERICK COPE, George H. Doran Company, New York. 1919. Pp. xii, 290.

Religious Education and Reconstruction. By NORMAN E. RICHARDSON. The Abingdon Press, New York. 1919. Pp. 32. 15 cents.

Moral Education as a Reconstruction Problem. By NORMAN E. RICHARDSON. The Abingdon Press, New York. 1919. Pp. 30. 15 cents.

A Partial Report of the Commission on the Definition of a Unit of Bible Study for Secondary Schools. "Christian Education," July, 1919. Pp. 14.

How to Teach Religion. Principles and Methods. By GEORGE HERBERT BETTS. The Abingdon Press, New York. 1919. Pp. 223. \$1.00.

It would be possible to arrange along a graded line the present-day advocates of Christian Education. At one end we could place those who represent the most rigid conservatism; at the other the most unrestrained liberalism; and between the extremes we should find room for the many existent nuances of opinion on this somewhat

important topic. The six publications mentioned above may be taken as fairly representative of those who prefer to qualify the term education by "religious" rather than "Christian," and who in urging their views are entirely free from the influence either of past orthodoxy or present conservatism. They are therefore to be placed at the liberal end of our imaginary line, and it will be convenient to mention the features they have in common before indicating the character of each.

Common to all is adverse criticism of the existing church and its method of education. The church of today is inadequate, inefficient, unresponsive to the legitimate demands of the time, sectarian, an upholder of useless theology, unawake to its social mission, while its educational efforts are deservedly open to ridicule. Common to all is the advocacy of the newest of the new pedagogy, namely the "sociological" pedagogy, and the psychological wisdom derived from the study of the religious life of the child and the adolescent. They all champion the "scientific" view of the Bible, as against conservative "literalism." They agree that the main function of the church is the "social transmission" of Christianity, and as a unit they emphasize the use of Gospel material in teaching, but utterly ignore the Redemptive function of Jesus Christ. While there is much to admire in the enthusiasm with which the problem of religious education is attacked, and the insight which many of the authors exhibit, nevertheless it is impossible not to feel misgivings as to the outcome. If the unique feature of Christianity is the Redeeming mission of the Saviour, how can a scheme of education serve a religion by abandoning its chief claim to recognition? Again how can a "scientific" view of the data of Christianity fail to devalue their religious worth, if in place of what the Scripture says it puts the (contradictory) statements of those who by equally "scientific" methods arrive at directly opposite results? The outcome must be, as is so evident, either a faith that cannot stand because separated from reason, or the substitution of some other religion for the belief of Paul and the Apostles. Still further, what wisdom is there in accepting without either caution or criticism a pedagogy that is like Penelope in unravelling at night what it has spent the entire day in weaving together? Finally the wholesale condemnation of the church seems unfounded. Nevertheless it enables the church to escape the woe threatened upon it when all men speak well of it.

Dr. Cope's two volumes cover practically the same ground. Each contains eloquent descriptions of the new day that is before the church in consequence of the world war, and rousing exhortation to the task of adjusting the work of the Church not Sabbath nor Sunday) School to its demands. In the opinion of some the word "new" may be a little overworked, and again one might question the accuracy of talking about "the quiet world of our grandfathers with its fixed social castes and its mechanized morals," and again one might not agree with the sweeping approval of the latest psychological

and sociological fashions, with the definite and decisive rejection of all that conservatism counts of value, but nevertheless the two volumes contain a great deal of suggestive and useful information entirely adaptable to any Sunday School. A unique chapter is that in "The School in the Modern Church" on how to get rid of an unsuitable superintendent or teacher. Here "painless" surgery is often needed, and Dr. Cope tells us how.

The two short pamphlets by Professor Richardson were originally addresses delivered in the opening months of 1919 before Sunday School Gatherings. They breathe the optimism that came with the armistice after the nerve-racking tension of the weary prolongation of the war. In general the thoughts are the same although in one pamphlet the word "religious" and in the other "moral" is used as a qualifier of education. In the first address a plea is made for a world-program of reconstruction after the world-program of destruction. Reconstruction is fundamentally the task of religious education. Nine facts (religious education must be national; applied science must be made safe for humanity, etc.) are then enumerated and forcefully urged on the attention of the religious educator. The second address begins with a scathing arraignment of the church because of its "ethical weakness," and a vigorous exposition of the remedy, religious and ethical education. Professor Richardson has many interesting things to say, but to our way of thinking, he could improve the "ethical" effect of his writings if he would tone down the aggressive opening and closing sentences of his paragraphs, if he would refrain from sweeping generalizations from a few facts, and if he would excise everything that is not matter of fact. For example, Professor Richardson tells us (*Religious Education and Reconstruction*, p. 4) that "The Kaiser prepared for 'Der Tag' by an educational thirty years' war." With no admiration for the person referred to, we may ask how this could be when he became emperor and king in June, 1888, and *Der Tag* came in August, 1914, and when his functions did not embrace the regulations of schools? Again the Director of the Department of Religious Education in Boston University tells us (*ibid* p. 4) "An autocratic school regimen prepared them to fit into the Prussian military program," but in 1917 the Assistant Professor of Religious Education in Yale School of Religion (B. S. Winchester, *Religious Education and Democracy*, p. 63) told us "Education in Germany during the last century has become thoroughly democratized." There is here some inconsistency not in matter of opinion, but in matter of fact.

The fifth publication mentioned contains a (tentative) definition of a unit of Bible Study for the use of secondary schools and for entrance to college. The Committee that drew up the report is composed of representatives of many Boards and Associations interested in Bible Study in the secondary schools. The Report takes up such matters as the Course of Study, the Method of Instruction, the Aim, and gives a list of books for collateral reading. In the

preparation of this list the Committee has not overlooked the books written by its own members. Practically none of the titles are conservative, and the question arises, What will be the reaction of the pupil who after studying the Bible as recommended ("The Bible is the fundamental text book and should be used as such" p. 13 of the Report) begins to read collaterally and finds that he must at every point correct not merely the historical data, but also the religious ideas? Again the query arises as to the basis on which the selections from Scripture were made. In the life of Jesus everything that suggests that he is the Messiah is omitted; the miracles are not inserted with the exception of the healing of the sick; his resurrection is left out, etc. Whatever the motives were in the choice of passages, the course can be recommended to all our friends as not calculated to offend the sensibilities of any. It can be recommended to our Jewish friends because Christ's claims of Messiahship are left out; to our Unitarian friends because his Godhead is not pressed; to our friends with materialistic views because the miraculous is minimized as much as possible; to our Christian Science friends because the healing of the sick is left in. Whether our friends who spend Sunday in play and in non-religious activity will be pleased to have their children commit to memory the Fourth Commandment is questionable, but obviously in devising a course of Bible Study for secondary schools the line must be drawn somewhere. Nevertheless, in all seriousness, it is a matter of questionable propriety to prejudice the mind of any one, least of all the mind of a child, by withholding pertinent facts. Which is of greater normative value for Christianity—the only religion worth teaching in our America—the apostolic construction of the life of Jesus, or that of a liberal criticism taking its cue from the Germany of twenty years ago?

Professor Betts assumes at the outset that the child is sinless, pure of heart and undefiled (p. 33). The teacher's task, therefore, is conservation of this original righteousness. In accomplishing it he must look first of all to himself, and because character is fundamental in successful teaching, he must make every effort to develop a strong and inspiring personality. He must also convince himself that the great objective of his teaching is the child, and that the subject matter is not an end but a means. He is thus prepared to consider the fourfold foundation of all good teaching: What are the aims? What material will best accomplish these aims? How should the material be organized? What should be the method of presentation? There is much that any Sabbath School teacher will find valuable in this book, but its fundamental assumption of the sinlessness of the child seems to us negated both by Scripture and by the facts of child psychology as presented by authors generally considered authoritative. No one would deny that the child has a possibility *utriusque partis*, but the possibility to good is only through conversion in which the presentation of Jesus Christ must enter in a very im-

portant sense. But this is just what we miss in Professor Betts' book and in most others of the recent type. Jesus is merely a type of morality and one of the great world-teachers of duty. He is not mentioned as the only Redeemer, the only Saviour from sin. To our mind any system of religious education that omits this aspect of Christ will prove futile.

Lincoln University, Pa.

GEORGE JOHNSON.

World Facts and America's Responsibility. BY CORNELIUS H. PATTON, D.D. Secretary, Home Department, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Author of "The Lure of Africa." Association Press: 347 Madison Ave., New York. 1919. Pp. xi, 236. Price, Cloth, \$1.00; paper, 75 cents.

This little book will take its place in "The Church School of Missions" for 1920, and it well deserves the time and study which the churches will give to it. The War has helped to make such a book possible. Dr. Patton has set down ten considerations which he calls "facts," more specifically, "world facts." Probably few will question him here, yet the breadth and intensity of his vision now and then lead him into paths in which there is among thinking Christian people a very just difference of opinion. This is especially noticeable when the last chapter, on the Church, is reached. Here the author slips away from the stately moorings which the Church has held for centuries, and we get the idea that the future church is to be of a very different type. The teaching and suffering Christ is not to be neglected, but the new church must exalt the Victorious Christ (p. 228). We follow the author here with grave misgivings. We seem to scent one of the ill effects of the War; namely, that world renewal is made too much a matter of mass movement and human dispatch. The instantaneous spirit of military authority has made some up-to-date writers impatient with the gradual and more sober ways of our historic Christianity. They want *all* of it done *now*. The truth which Christ put into the parables of the mustard seed and the leaven is lost sight of. In the things of the Spirit, as in nature, God apparently loves a process. And there is always a sad reckoning for the individual or church or "movement" that presumes to reverse this method. Nor is it plain to us how Christ can be victorious except through His teachings and suffering, and the gradual, individual application of these saving benefits by His Holy Spirit.

Dr. Patton sees that you cannot have the same type of democracy everywhere (p. 168), that what has been won is the right, not the power, of the people to rule (p. 176). What he does not see clearly is, that this same democratic right is also inevitable in the religious sphere, that it cannot be ignored or submerged as unimportant, and that those who speak of civil democracy in one breath and in another bemoan the very theological differences to which they are entitled by the religious democracy of the Reformation, are in the grip of an inconsistent psychology. But then, as in most unionist discus-

sions, the fact of doctrinal integrity seldom enters. Not only is it not a "world fact"; it is not a fact at all. About the nearest Dr. Patton gets to it is the passing notice (p. 205) that divergent church polity is perfectly compatible with a truly democratic church. Even in the chapter in which we see the Church girding herself for her task (Chap. X.), where mention is made of organic union, not a single paragraph is given to the dogmatic side of the subject. Evidently doctrine is no part of the Church's girding. One might think the Reformation a forgotten dream! The *modus operandi* appears to be on the understood condition of the utter absence of a theological conscience. Or, to put it not quite so harshly, the whole unionist propaganda is shot through, as is so much of the prominent thought of our time, with presuppositions and influences unmistakably pragmatic and Ritschlian.

The above is only one phase of Dr. Patton's book. We regret that we cannot dwell on some of its many fine points. The material is splendidly distributed and the style is clear and forceful. As for the printing and binding, both are a credit to the high standards of the Association Press.

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PERIODICAL LITERATURE

American Church Monthly, New Brunswick, January: FRANK H. HALLOCK, Some Recent Spiritualistic Literature; CHARLES C. EDMUNDS, Episcopalians or Churchmen; HARRY H. BOGERT, Objections to the Proposed Concordat; H. ADYE PRICHARD, John the Baptist—A Study of Modernity. *The Same*, February: FRANCIS J. HALL, Was Bishop Kinsman Right? FRANK DAMROSCH, JR., Men of Straw in Modern Fiction; CARROLL L. BATES, Religion Tomorrow; M. BOWYER STEWART, Technique of Religion. *The Same*, March: STANLEY M. CLEVELAND, Religious Future of America; KENNETH MACKENZIE, The Hickson Mission to the Church; HAMILTON SCHUYLER, Protestant and Catholic Ideals of Worship; FRANK H. HALLOCK, The Holy Spirit and Confirmation; The Blessed Virgin in Our Devotional Life.

American Journal of Theology, Chicago, January: WILLISTON WALKER, Recent Tendencies in the Congregational Churches; JOHN W. BUCKHAM, The New England Theologians; HERBERT L. STEWART, Anatole France and Modernist Catholicism; DONAL MACFAYDEN, The Occasion of the Domitianic Persecution; JAMES W. THOMPSON, The Cistercian Order and Colonization of Medieval Germany; A. T. OLMSTEAD, Wearing the Hat; CLAYTON R. BOWEN, Are Paul's Prison Letters from Ephesus?; W. G. JORDAN, An Interpretation of Ecclesiastes; A. WAKEFIELD SLATEN, The Style and Literary Method of Luke; WILLIAM H. P. HATCH, Spirit, Soul and Flesh; GERALD B. SMITH, Theology among the Sciences.

Anglican Theological Review, Lancaster, December: GEORGE A. BARROW, The Morality of Religion; HERBERT H. GOWEN, Eschatology of the Old Testament; BURTON S. EASTON, Apostolic Doctrine of the Church; ROBERT F. LAU, An American Prayer Book of 1793; WALTER F. WHITMAN, The Thirteenth Canon of Ancyra.

Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, January: RAYMOND BRIDGMAN, The Great Conversion; FRANZ M. TH. BOEHL, Position of Women in Ancient Babylonia and Israel; WALLACE N. STEARNS, Notes on the Troglydites in Palestine; J. J. LIAS, The Evidence of Fulfilled Prophecy; HAROLD M. WIENER, The Main Problem of Deuteronomy; FRANCIS B. DENIO, Bible Authors and the Imagination; Germany and Biblical Criticism.

Catholic Historical Review, Washington, January: J. WILFRID PARSONS, The Catholic Church in America in 1819; FREDERICK J. ZWIERLEIN, The Episcopal Career of Bishop McQuaid (1868-1902); THOMAS J. CAMPBELL, Eusebio Kino (1644-1711); Beginnings of Irish Catholic Journalism in America.

Church Quarterly Review, London, January: A. J. MACLEAN, Ministry of Women; A. E. BAKER, The Supernatural, the Incarnation, and the Eucharist; W. J. FERRAR, Egyptian Monasticism; G. HARFORD, Croce's Philosophical System; LEIGHTON PULLAN, Serbian Church Architecture; W. A. WIGRAM, Turkey in Dissolution: Some Factors in the Political Situation in India.

Constructive Quarterly, New York, December: PIERRE BATIFFOL, Pope Leo XIII on Unity; W. P. PATERSON, Brotherhood in the Church and Church Union; B. J. PALMER, The Unity of the Church; W. DOUGLAS MACKENZIE, Practical Aspects of Reunion; H. C. ACKERMAN, Love the Principal Factor in Christian Unity; NOLAN R. BEST, Organic Church Unity; METROPOLITAN PLATON, Messages of the Metropolitan of Kherson and Odessa; S. F. H. J. B. VAN DER SPRENKEL, Faith and Illusion; BURTON S. EASTON, St. Paul's Doctrines of the Atonement; F. R. TENNANT, The Trial of Faith Involved in Theological Reconstruction.

East and West, London, January: SHERWOOD EDDY, Union or Division in India; E. H. M. WALLER, Proposed Cororate Union of Anglican, South India United, and Mar Thoma Syrian Churches; A. E. MYNORS, Mass Movements in India; H. A. POPEY, Mass Movements in India; G. HIBBERT-WARE, Meeting of the East and West; DORA TIKELL, Nationality and Citizenship in Relation to Christian Missions.

Expositor, London, January: VACHER BURCH, Reasons Why Nero Should Not Be Found in Revelation xiii; A. T. ROBERTSON, Philemon and Onesimus; J. HUGH MICHAEL, The Phillippian Interpolation: Where Does it End?; DONALD M. BAILLIE, What is the "Theology of Experience?"; A. T. SCHOFIELD, The Lucan Narrative of the Nativity. *The Same*, February: J. G. JAMES, Mental and Moral Sanity; C. J. CADOUX, The Place of Christ's Ethical Teaching in Modern Christian Life; R. MACKINTOSH, Formative Conceptions of the Atonement

in Western Catholicism; ALEX C. PURDY, Purpose of the Epistle to the Hebrews; NEWPORT J. D. WHITE, Missionary Spirit of the Old Testament. *The Same*, March: E. W. WINSTANLEY, Outlook of Early Christian Apocalypses; R. MACKINTOSH, Anselm on Satisfaction to the Divine Honour; B. W. BACON, Editorial Arrangement in Matthew viii-ix; W. MEIKLE, Vocabulary of Patience in the Old Testament; W. W. CANNON, Passover and the Priests' Code; C. J. BALL, Daniel and Babylon.

Expository Times, Edinburgh, December: JOHN A. HUTTON, The Christian Community; STEPHEN H. LANGDON, Archibald Henry Sayce; JAMES MOFFATT, Thirty Years of New Testament Criticism. *The Same*, January: W. B. SELBIE, The New Attitude to God; ARTHUR C. HILL, Christ and the Will; F. R. TENNANT, Creation and the Origin of the Soul; A. H. SAYCE, Sumerian Epic of Paradise; BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD, Capitalizing 'Lord' in the English New Testament; A. M. WILLIAMS, St. Paul's Speech at Lystra. *The Same*, February: WILFRID J. MOULTON, George Gillanders Findley; CHARLES A. SCOTT, An Aramaic Source for Acts i-xv; JOHN A. HUTTON, On Accepting Christ.

Harvard Theological Review, Cambridge, January: DAVID G. LYON, Crawford Howell Toy; GEORGE A. REISNER, Recent Discoveries in Ethiopia; HOWARD N. BROWN, Psychic Research; RUTH M. GORDON, Two Contrasting Attitudes towards Evil.

Homiletic Review, New York, March: GEORGE L. PARKER, Matthew Arnold to the Preacher; ARTHUR S. HOYT, John Kelman; A. D. BELDEN, The Resurrection of the Body.

International Journal of Ethics, Concord, January: GIORGIO DEL VECCHIO, Right and Human Personality in the History of Thought; J. E. BOODIN, The Unit of Civilization; C. A. BENNETT, Art as an Antidote for Morality; HERBERT L. STEWART, Prophetic Office of H. G. Wells; DURANT DRAKE, Light from Tolstoy on Russia; JULIET E. ROBB, Having Right and Being Right; C. C. BRADDOCK, Utility of Pain.

Interpreter, London, January: ALFRED E. GARVIE, The Christian Doctrine of Forgiveness; WALTER F. ADENEY, Christ and the Temple; MALCOLM SPENCER, Nature and Implications of Christian Unity; C. HAROLD DODD, Realities at Stake from the Evangelical (Free Church) Side; H. J. D. ASTLEY, Ladies' Fashions in Jerusalem; H. A. DALLAS, What is Spiritualism?; Orientalia.

Irish Theological Quarterly, Dublin, January: W. MORAN, Social Reconstruction in an Irish State; CLAUDE C. H. WILLIAMSON, Philosophy of Symbols and Sacraments; T. J. AGIUS, The Resurrection-Body in the Light of Present-Day Physiological Science; HUGH POPE, Second Corinthians; DAVID BARRY, Constituents and Basis of Charity.

Journal of Negro History, Lancaster, January: LORETTA FUNKE, The Negro in Education; FRED LANDON, The Negro Migration to Canada after 1850; RICHARD HILL, Frank Cundall; C. G. WOODSON, Relations of Negroes and Indians in Massachusetts.

Journal of Theological Studies, London, January: J. A. ROBINSON, The "Apostolic Anaphora" and the Prayer of St. Polycarp; F. J. BADCOCK, Sanctorum Communio as an Article in the Creed; T. STEPHENSON, Overlapping Sources in Matthew and Luke; J. H. MICHAEL, 'The Sign of John'; F. W. LEWIS, 'The Johannine Account of the Early Ministry of Jesus'; C. LATTEY, 'Lifting Up' in the Fourth Gospel.

London Quarterly Review, London, January: P. T. FORSYTH, Does the Church Prolong the Incarnation?; HENRY S. LUNN, The Wesleys and Bishop Winnington Ingram; EMILE BOUTROUX, Reform of National Education; WILLIAM EVELEIGH, Century of Methodist Literature in South Africa; J. AGAR BEET, The Methodist Revival; T. H. S. ESCOTT, American Letters and European Reconstruction.

Lutheran Church Review, Philadelphia, October: H. OFFERMANN, Problems of the Epistle to the Hebrews; THEODORE SCHMAUK, Call of the Allgemeine Konferenz; EDWARD T. HORN, Quomodo Deus Homo; E. P. PFATTEICHER, "Christian Internationalism"; FRANK C. OBERLY, Defence of the Lutheran Usage of Private Confession; JUNIUS B. REMENSNYDER, The Ideal of the Christian Ministry; J. A. W. HAAS, Economic Theory and Christianity; THEODORE E. SCHMAUK, The Kingdom of God and the Church of the Twentieth Century. *The Same*, January: H. OFFERMANN, The Personality of St. Paul. ii; CHARLES E. KISTLER, No New World as Yet; J. A. W. HAAS, A Philosophy of Society; THEODORE E. SCHMAUK, Politics and the Church; H. OFFERMANN, Meditations on the Hebrews; H. OFFERMANN, Principles for the Interpretation of the Book of Revelation; JOHN C. MATTES, Ought a Minister to be a Mason?

Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, October: LAURITZ LARSEN, The National Lutheran Church; S. EARL TAYLOR, The World Movement; H. C. ALLEMAN, Present Task of the Theological Student; HOMER W. TOPE, Prohibition and the Amendment; J. A. SINGMASTER, The Trinity; J. L. NEVE, Union Movements between Lutherans and Reformed.

Methodist Quarterly Review, Nashville, January: WARREN A. CANDLER, Origin, Mission, and Destiny of the Church; FRANK M. THOMAS, Apostolic Evangelism; CHARLES L. BROOKS, Sin; A. CALDECOTT, Early Methodist Experience; ALBERT L. SCALES, Studies in the Philosophy of William James; S. H. WAINRIGHT, The Backward Look: Sixty Years of Protestant Missions in Japan; O. E. GODDARD, Home Missions: A Present-Day Viewpoint.

Methodist Review, New York, January: C. T. WINCHESTER, The New Poetry; ANDREW GILLIES, Sidelights on John Wesley from Boswell's Johnson; JAMES R. DAY, The Workingman's Foes; E. C. WILM, The Bible and the Child; JOHN LEB, "The Eternal Irish Problem"; H. J. TALBOTT, Pastoral Evangelism; F. B. HANSON, Nemesis in Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter"; HENBY CREW, Scientific Leadership of the World.

Monist, Chicago, January: RICHARD C. SCHIEDT, Ernst Heinrich Haeckel; PHILIP E. B. JOURDAIN, Analytical Treatment of Newton's

Problems; JUUL DIESERUD, Space and the World in Space; HANS FRIEDENTHAL, New Number of the Cosmic Sand; TENNEY L. DAVIS, The Text Alchemy and the Songe-Verd; S. N. PATTON, An Analysis of Mental Defects.

Reformed Church Review, Lancaster, January: GEORGE W. RICHARDS, The Novum Organum of Francis Bacon; A. S. WEBER, Christian Aspects of the Proposed Covenant and League of Nations; HIRAM KING, Reason, Nature, and Revelation in Accord; ALFRED N. SAYRES, The Incarnation.

Review and Expositor, Louisville, January: FREDERICK C. SPURR, The Labourers in the Vineyard; E. W. STONE, Divorce and Law; W. E. HENRY, Christ's Resurrection and the Forgiveness of Sins; WILLIAM W. EVERTS, The Laws of Moses and of Hammurabi; W. DOUGLAS MACKENZIE, A Study of Theological Method; W. O. CARVER, Some Aspects of Education in the Light of the War's Revelations.

Southwestern Journal of Theology, Fort Worth, January: Southern Baptists and a Constructive Program; JEFF D. RAY, The Preacher and the Ordinances; H. E. DANA, Paul's Version of Human Personality; W. W. CHANCELLOR, Growing a New Testament Church; W. T. CONNER, Relation of the Work of the Holy Spirit to the Person and Work of Christ; W. A. JARRELL, Gospel Name of God Blotted Out.

Union Seminary Review, Richmond, January: JAMES SPRUNT, Restoration of Jerusalem; JOHN N. MILLS, The Waldenses, "The Promise of Italy"; R. V. LANCASTER, The Second Coming of Christ; ERNEST T. THOMPSON, First Peter, Theme and Analysis.

Yale Review, New Haven, January: FELIX FRANKFURTER, Law and Order; LORD HALDANE, New Ideals in Education; WILBUR CROSS, George Eliot in Retrospect; MABLE LA FARGE, Henry Adams: a Niece's Memories; JOHN M. BOOKER, Industrial Partnership; WILLIAM S. CULBERTSON, Commercial Basis of Peace; BARNETTE MILLER, Constantinople under the Germans; JEANETTE MARKS, Swinburne, A Study of Pathology; JOHN BURROUGHS, Is Nature Beneficent? FLORENCE F. KELLY, Menace of Localism.

Biblica, Romae, I: 1: A. VACCARI, La *Θεωρία* nella scuola esegetica di Antiochia; J. B. FREY, Le concept de "vie" dans l'Evangile de St. Jean; E. POWER, Study of the Hebrew expression "Wide of Heart"; S. G. MERCATI, Antica Omelia metrica *Eis τὴν Χριστοῦ γένναν*; J. M. BOVER, "Quod nascetur (ex te) sanctum vocabitur Filius Dei."

Bilychnis, Roma, Gennaio: G. RENSI, Ucronia; S. MINOCCHI, Un distinguanno della scienza biblica?; G. FERRETTI, Le fedi, le idee e la condotta; G. E. MEILLE, Psicologia di combattenti cristiani. *The Same*, Febbraio: R. CORSO, La rinascita della superstizione nell' ultima guerra; G. FERRETTI, Le fedi, le idee e la condotta; V. CENTO, L'essenza del modernismo.

Ciencia Tomista, Madrid, Noviembre-diciembre: L. G. A. GETINO, Centenario y Cartulario de nuestra Comunidad; R. CRESPO, Exégesis de San Lucas 7:47; LUIS URBANO, Los prodigios de Limpias a la luz de la Teología y de Ciencia; H. SANCHO, Ideas penales del maestro

Domingo Soto. *The Same*, Enero-Febrero: PASCUAL BROCH, Santo Tomás y la sistematización apologética; JUAN G. ARINTERO, Alteraciones y reconstitución de una personalidad: ALBERTO COLUNGA, Extensión de la tierra prometida; LUIS URBANO, Los prodigios de Limpías a la luz de la Teología y de la Ciencia; J. M. G. GRAIN, Modernidad de la "Summa contra gentiles."

Gereformeerd Theologisch Tijdschrift, Baarn, December: G. CH. AALDERS, Opmerkingen over ontstaanstijd en auteur van Psalm 122; F. W. GROSHEIDE, De methode om de volgorde der Paulinische Brieven te bepalen, in het bijzonder in verband met de Brieven aan de Thesalonicensen. *The Same*, Januari: F. W. Grosheide, De methode om de volgorde der Paulinische Brieven etc. (con.); J. G. UBBINK, Wat is Gereformeerd?; C. LINDEBOOM, Het Koninkrijk Gods is binnen ulieden.

Recherches de Science Religieuse, Paris, Septembre-December: MAURICE DE LA TAILLE, L'oraison contemplative; ADHÉMAR D'ALÈS, Le Corpus de Novatien; MARC DUBRUEL, Hiérarchie gallicane et Religieux exempts. Un épisode de leurs relations au xvii siècle; Louis LAURAND, Le *cursus* dans les lettres de saint Jérôme; AUGUSTE VALENSIN, La foi des démons.

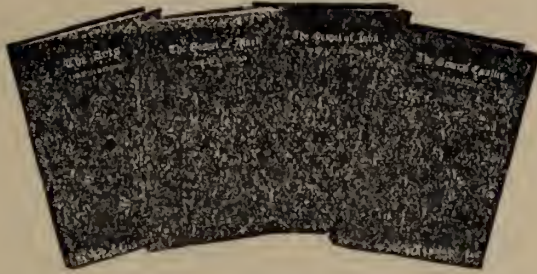
Revue D'Ascétique et De Mystique, Toulouse, Janvier: J. DE GUIBERT, Les Études de Théologie ascétique et mystique; P. DUDON, Le Procès de Molinos; O. MARCHETTI, Le Seuil de l'Ascétique; L. DE GRANDMAISON, Sur la Forme faible de l'Oraison de Simplicité; P. CLAEYS-BOUÛART, Le Principe surnaturel de l'Obéissance; A. WILMART, La Lettre spirituelle de l'Abbé Macaire.

Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie, Lausanne, Novembre-Décembre: CHARLY CLERC, Histoire religieuse et critique littéraire; ANTONIN CAUSSE, La législation sociale d'Israël et l'idéal patriarcal, ii; MAURICE NEESER, *Le buisson d'épines*, de Pierre Jeannet.

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